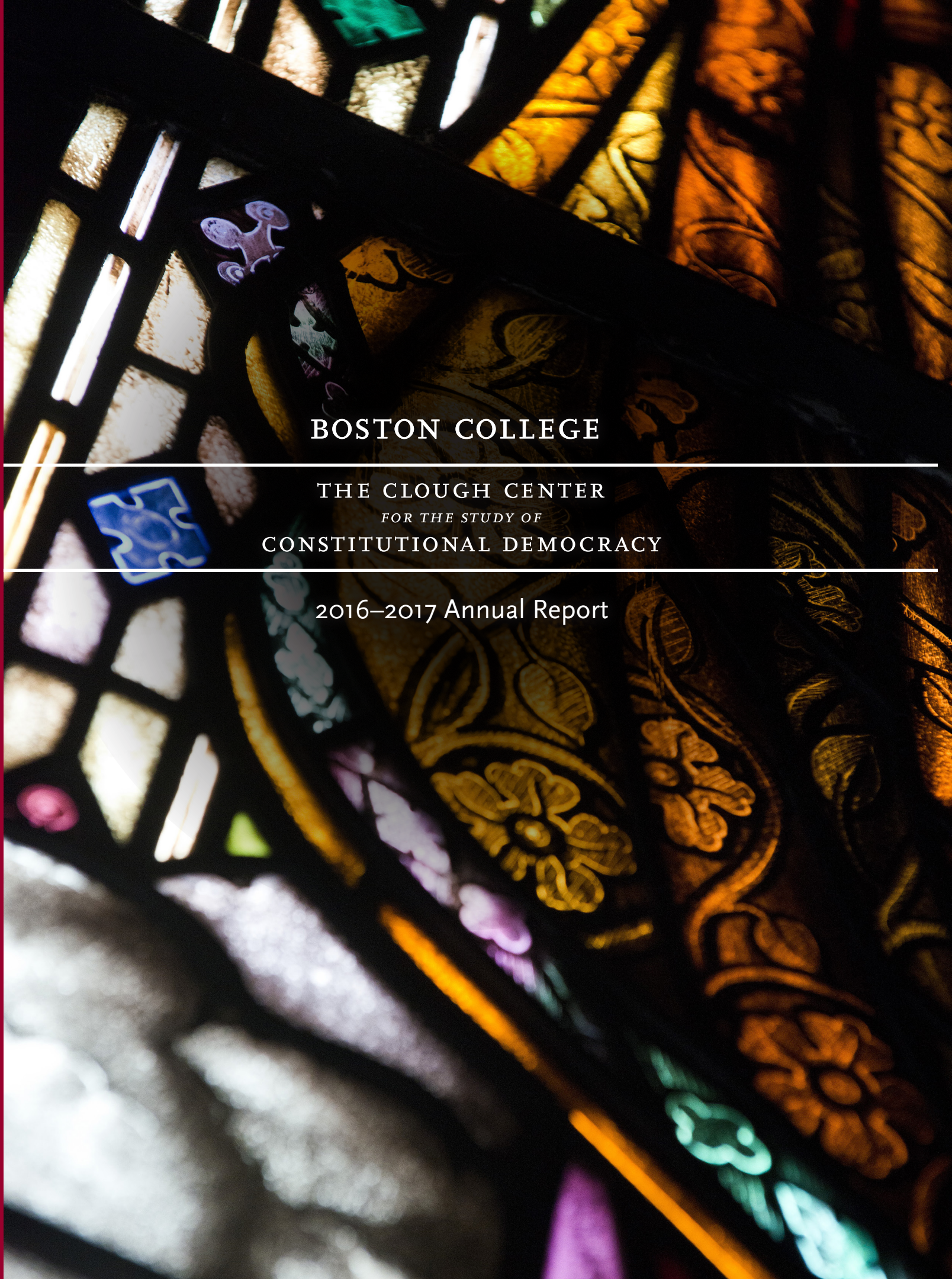

BOSTON COLLEGE

THE CLOUGH CENTER
FOR THE STUDY OF
CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY

2016–2017 Annual Report

2016–2017 Annual Report

THE CLOUGH CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY

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From the Director

Welcome to the 2016-2017 Annual Report of the Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy at Boston College. As you will see from these pages, which include reports of our events authored by our very talented Clough fellows, the Center has had a busy, exciting, and productive year. Our fellowship programs continue to attract some of BC's most talented and dedicated students. Our events this past year have helped our academic community to reflect on major recent developments in our political and social life. The Center has continued to attract greater visibility, not only within our community but also nationally and around the world. Building on the vision of our generous benefactors and friends, Gloria and Charles Clough, the Center has made great progress towards becoming one of the leading institutions in the world for the study of constitutional democracy.

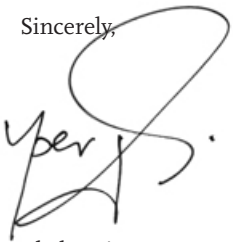
One of the Clough Center's core features is its global approach. Our events this past year have included panels and conferences on the elections in the United States and France, debates about Brexit, and political developments in the Chinese world. Some of our other events included Michael Vorenberg's lecture on the Fourteenth Amendment as an Act of War, Judith Resnik's Clough Distinguished Lecture in Jurisprudence on the topic of solitary confinement, Alessandro Ferrara's lecture on political liberalism in the age of populism, and Joseph Chan on the compatibility of Confucian hierarchy with liberal political thought, among many others. In addition to two-day conference on the US elections in comparative and historical perspective, our conferences explored the future of European constitutionalism and the meaning of community within different cultural traditions. Particularly noteworthy has been the lecture on North Korea by the Honorable Michael Kirby, a former Justice of the Australian High Court and former chair of the United Nations Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in North Korea. As in previous years, the Center has continued to feature the work of Boston College faculty. This year, a celebration of Professor Cathleen Kaveny's book "Prophecy without Contempt: A Conversation about Religion, Identity and Exclusion in our New Political Era" has brought to Boston College luminaries such as the 104th Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams and philosophers Charles Taylor and Jonathan Israel.

This Annual Report offers brief written accounts of the Center's public programs. I invite you to watch the events of interest to you, in their entirety, on our website **www.bc.edu/cloughcenter**.

This year's fellowship programs have attracted great talent and offered our students unique educational opportunities. The Center offers three categories of fellowships to BC students. First, the Center offers appointment as Junior Fellows to select undergraduate students and to recipients of our Civic Internships that fund summer internships. Secondly, we award funding to law students for summer positions as Public Interest Law Scholars, or on the basis of high academic achievement in the Academic Law Scholars category. Finally, each year, the Center appoints over twenty doctoral students from across the University. This year, our Clough Graduate Fellows have come from the History, Philosophy, English, Economics, Sociology, Law, Theology, and Political Science departments. Our graduate fellows discuss their work with invited faculty during the year in a weekly workshop. You can read more about their research in this Annual Report.

I would like to thank the extraordinary team at the Center for Centers that so expertly supports our activities: Peter Marino, Stephanie Querzoli, Michelle Muccini, Shaylonda Barton, Susan Dunn, and Ana Tajada. My gratitude also goes to our graduate and undergraduate fellow coordinators and fellows.

Sincerely,



Vlad Perju
Director, the Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy

About the Director

Vlad Perju is the Director of the Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy and Professor of Law at Boston College Law School. He holds a doctorate (S.J.D. degree) from Harvard Law School, an LL.M. degree summa cum laude from the European Academy of Legal Theory in Brussels, Belgium, and two law degrees from the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne and the University of Bucharest. While at Harvard, he served as a Byse Fellow, a Safra Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Foundation Center for Ethics, and a Research Fellow in the Project on Justice, Welfare, and Economics.

Professor Perju's primary research interests are comparative and global constitutional law, European law, international law, and jurisprudence. His recent publications include "Reason and Authority in the European Court of Justice," 49 *Virginia Journal of International Law 307* (2009) (awarded the 2009 Ius Commune Prize for the best article on European integration); "Cosmopolitanism and Constitutional Self-Government," *International Journal of Constitutional Law (I-CON)* vol. 8(3): 326-353 (2010) (selected for presentation as the best paper in constitutional law at the 2010 Yale/Stanford Junior Faculty Forum); "Impairment, Discrimination and the Legal Construction of Disability in the European Union and the United States," 44 *Cornell International Law Journal 279* (2011); "Proportionality and Freedom: An Essay on Method in Constitutional Law," *Journal of Global Constitutionalism (Glob-Con)* vol. 1(2): 334-367 (2012); "Constitutional Transplants, Borrowing and Migrations," in the *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Constitutional Law* (M. Rosenfeld & A. Sajo, eds., 2012); "Cosmopolitanism in Constitutional Law," 35 *Cardozo Law Review 711* (2013); "The Romanian Double Executive and the 2012 Constitutional Crisis," *International Journal of Constitutional Law* vol. 13(1) (2015); "Proportionality and Stare Decisis: Proposal for a New Structure", in *Vicki Jackson and Mark Tushnet (eds.), Proportionality: New Frontiers* (Cambridge, 2017); Double Sovereignty in Europe? A Critique of Habermas's Defense of the Nation-State," 53 *Texas Journal of International Law* (forthcoming, 2018), "On Uses and Misuses of Human Rights in European Constitutionalism", in *Silja Voeneky and Gerald L. Neuman (eds.), Human Rights, Legitimacy and a World in Disorder* (forthcoming, Cambridge, 2018), and "On the (De-)Fragmentation of Statehood in Europe: Reflections on Böckenförde", *German Law Journal* (forthcoming, 2018).

Professor Perju was a Visiting Associate Professor at Harvard Law School in the fall term 2011, a Visiting Professor of the Theory of the State at the European Academy of Legal Theory in Brussels, Belgium, in 2008 and 2009, and a research fellow at NYU Law School in 2009. In 2008, he received appointment from the President of Romania to the President's Special Commission on Constitution Reform. He has lectured widely around the world and across universities in the United States.

2016–2017 Lectures & Events

FALL 2016

Michael Vorenberg · The Fourteenth Amendment as an Act of War

David Cameron · Brexit: Why It Happened and What It Means for the UK and the EU

Conference · Election 2016 in Historical and Comparative Perspective

Raúl Zurita · Poetry & Atrocity: A Bilingual Reading and Conversation

Judith Resnik · Not Isolating Isolation: Whippings, Solitary Confinement, Prisoner Disenfranchisement, and the Bounding of Licit Punishment

Panel · Trump, Brexit, and the Future of Politics

Panel · The Future of Constitutionalism in the Age of Trump: US and Global Perspectives

SPRING 2017

Peer Zumbansen · Globalization's Elusive Search for Justice: Categories, Maps, Interventions

Conference · The Territory of "a People": Questioning Community

Alex Aleinikoff · Reimagining Refugee Law

Alessandro Ferrara · Political Liberalism, Indigenous Unreasonability and Post-liberal Democracy

Steven Pincus · The Declaration of Independence in Imperial Context: A Call for Activist Government

Panel · Prophecy without Contempt: A Conversation about Religion, Identity, and Exclusion in Our New Political Era

Australian Justice Michael Kirby · North Korea through a Jurist's Eye

Brazilian Justice Luís Roberto Barroso · The Roles of Supreme Courts in Constitutional Democracies

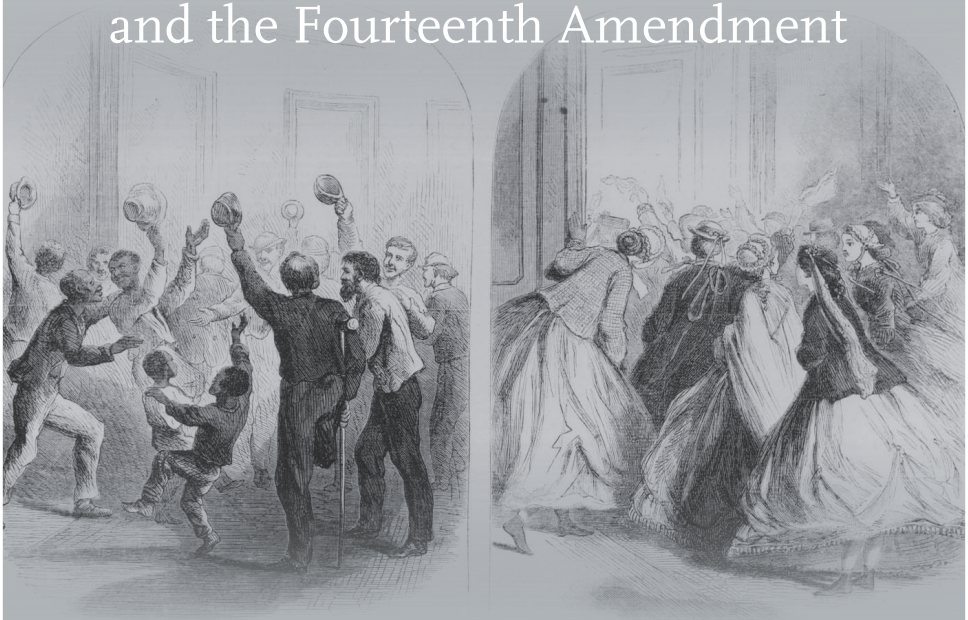
Panel · The French Elections

Joseph Chan · Democratic Equality or Confucian Hierarchy

Annual Report Contributors:

THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT AS AN ACT OF WAR

Celebrating the 150th Anniversary of the Civil Rights Act and the Fourteenth Amendment



Tuesday, September 20 · 5:00 p.m.
Barat House
Boston College Law School

Michael Vorenberg
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY
BROWN UNIVERSITY

Co-sponsored by the Boston College Law School Legal History Roundtable.

The Fourteenth Amendment is perhaps the "most important of the Constitution because it is central to engage in constitutional law," suggested historian Michael Vorenberg during his lecture, "The Fourteenth Amendment as an Act of War," at BC Law in September. His visit, sponsored by the Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy, was aptly planned to celebrate Constitution Day as well as the 150th Anniversary of the Civil Rights Act and Fourteenth Amendment.

Vorenberg is an associate professor of history at Brown University. His most famous work, Final Freedom: the Civil War, the Abolition of Slavery, and the Thirteenth Amendment, was a finalist for the Lincoln Prize and was also generously used for Steven Spielberg's 2012 film, *Lincoln*.

The historian's current work moves chronologically to the Fourteenth Amendment and engages concerns about the end of the Civil War and its impact on US citizenship. In this vein, he traced the Fourteenth Amendment from creation of wartime necessity to contemporary application.

Vorenberg began his lecture by resolving the myth of the "magical moment at the Appomattox," where Robert E. Lee "surrendered" to Ulysses S. Grant in April 1865 at the famed Virginia

courthouse. Though popular imagination assumes the Civil War ended there, the legal conclusion to the war actually came 16 months later on August 20, 1866. Similarly confounded is the Fourteenth Amendment which, though not ratified until 1868, was passed for resolution on June 13, 1866.

Thus, Vorenberg revealed, the amendment which secures birthright citizenship and due process of law to all Americans, was an act of war and not a measure of peacetime Reconstruction. Rethinking the amendment in this way, opens nuanced dialogue for its contemporary application, he argued.

Key support for Vorenberg's argument was language—the use and reuse of phrases across legal documents, as well as the implications of such rhetoric. Primarily, he said, the narrative of the Fourteenth Amendment cannot be separated from the Civil Rights Act of 1866. The act not only attached rights and citizenship to the grant of freedom for black people, it also charged the federal government with responsibility to react, and most importantly, act preemptively against conspired violations of civil rights.

This language borrowed heavily from the rhetoric of international law. Used from the Caroline Incident of 1837 to President Bush's preemptive actions against terrorist activity in 2001, the language of the Doctrine of Preemptive War also shaped the Civil Rights Act and the Fourteenth Amendment.

Vorenberg illuminated the implications of understanding the Civil Rights Act and the Fourteenth Amendment as wartime acts, imploring the audience to give the Doctrine of Preemptive War correct legitimacy and context. It is not a product of the 21st century War on Terror, he said, but rather has roots in the Civil War era, protecting Black Americans and their civil rights from white paramilitary groups and law enforcement through preemptive military action.

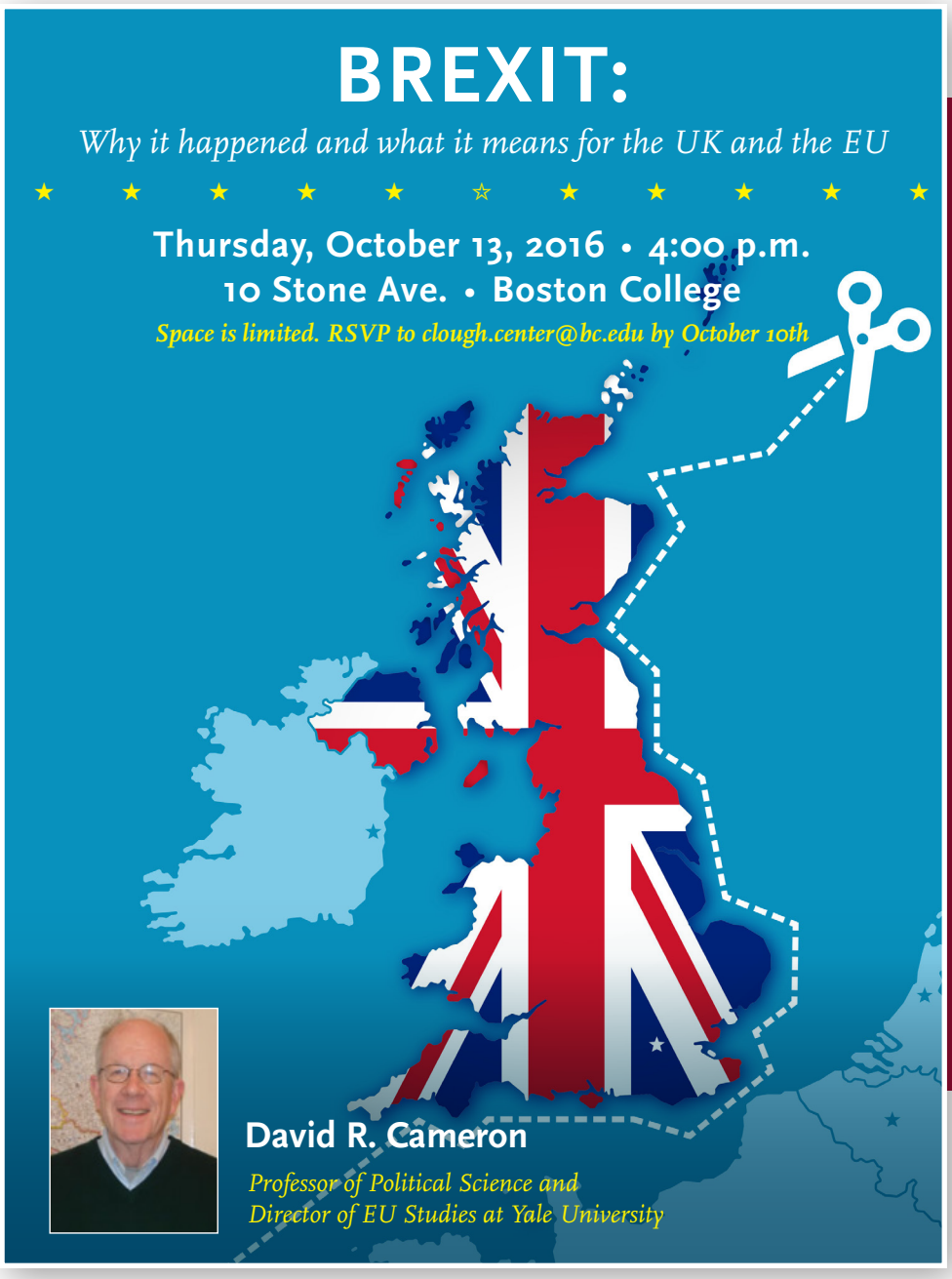
Vorenberg also stressed that the use of federal force to protect civil rights is not an isolated occurrence. Just as Secretary of War Stanton sought military presence in the South to protect the newly freed from massacres in 1866, President Eisenhower sent the National Guard to Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957 to ensure safety and justice during school integration. The question Vorenberg posed, then, was, "Why aren't we doing it today?"
As the United States remains under a national state of emergency that began in 2001, and as systemic oppression and state-sanctioned violence continues to plague black and brown Americans, Vorenberg urged that we question why the US government isn't exercising its constitutional prerogative to protect the rights of historically marginalized American citizens using preemptive action.

The rhetorical landscape of law as well as the historical circumstances of its creation and use, he said, can help us reimagine the application of the Fourteenth Amendment, even 150 years later.

About Michael Vorenberg

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Michael Vorenberg is Associate Professor of History at Brown University, where he teaches and writes about legal and constitutional history, the American Civil War and Reconstruction, and Abraham Lincoln. He received his undergraduate degree and PhD from Harvard University. The author of *Final Freedom: The Civil War, the Abolition of Slavery, and the Thirteenth Amendment* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), which was a finalist for the Lincoln Prize, he is also the editor of *The Emancipation Proclamation: A Brief History with Documents* (Bedford/St. Martin's, 2010). Currently he is completing a book on the end of the Civil War, as well as a longer study of the impact of the Civil War on American citizenship. He has served as a distinguished lecturer for the Organization of American Historians and a member of the editorial staff of the journal Law and History. He is the recipient of fellowships from the American Council of Learned Societies and the National Endowment for the Humanities. At Brown, he has received the McLoughlin Prize for teaching and the Romer Prize for advising. He has published numerous essays on the Fourteenth Amendment and the Constitution and has delivered many lectures on that topic as well.



On June 23, 2016 the UK stunned the world, and itself, by voting in a referendum on whether or not to begin the process to leave the EU. By the time the votes were tallied, 48.1% voted to remain, with 51.9% voting to leave. Why was this vote called, and even more importantly, why would the UK decide to the leave the EU when almost every economist along with the IMF and OECD described leaving as having potentially devastating economic implications?

On October 13, 2016 the Clough Center was fortunate enough to have Yale Professor of Political Science David Cameron—not the currently unemployed former PM—to explain just what happened, and what it means for the future.

One of the most confusing aspects of the whole vote was about what issues the vote was really over? Especially, as mentioned before, it was almost unanimously derided as a waiting economic catastrophe. The divide was that the remain supporters focused heavily on and were motivated by the economic rationale. To the remain campaign, the economic implications of leaving the Union were the most salient and important. Yet, to the leave campaign and its voters, it was more about an issue of sovereignty, with immigration coming in a close second.

For much of its history, the UK has always had a "one foot in, one foot out" approach towards integration. Thus the issue over UK sovereignty and parliamentary democracy had always been a

contentious point. Many in the UK, and the leave campaign did nothing to dispel this notion, of the EU simply being run and imposing rules on the UK by a bunch of unaccountable bureaucrats from Brussels. In this sense, for the leave campaign and its voters the real question was about regaining UK sovereignty.

Despite the tension filled relationship, why was the referendum called in the first place? The problem was that pressure was beginning to build within PM David Cameron's own Conservative Party. The right wing and EU skeptic party UKIP, led by prominent leave campaign figurehead Nigel Farage, was beginning to steal votes and support from the right wing of the Conservative party, reducing Cameron's maneuver room and increasing pressure for him to take action. By calling for the referendum, Cameron hoped to silence the extreme portion of his party and protect against any further encroachment by UKIP.

Yet, we all know how that plan worked out. The day after the vote David Cameron resigned, and after a confusing and tumultuous contest, Theresa May was confirmed as the new leader of the Conservative party and PM. While many were coming around to the recognition of the potential implications of the leave vote, Theresa May made her stance unequivocal in saying, "Brexit means Brexit." Arguing that the voters had spoken, she has staked out a hard negotiating stance towards the EU, which many claim is unrealistic at best. She argues that the UK will write its own laws, maintain its current access to the EU common market, not be beholden to the European Court of Justice and will control immigration and eliminate the free flow of EU citizens across its borders.

The problem with that position is that the EU is unlikely to let that happen. As Prof. David Cameron pointed out, the EU is taking a hard line in potential negotiations, and while admittedly most likely a bargaining tactic, it remains almost unforeseeable that the EU would allow access to the common market while also allowing a state to deny the free movement of people. While some have been calling for variations of "soft" and "hard" Brexit, primarily revolving around the level of UK access to the common market, the EU has an edge in negotiations as the UK has two years from the invocation of Article 50 (the exit clause) to come to an agreement and roadmap. At the end of the two years, if no

> “For much of its history, the UK has always had a “one foot in, one foot out” approach towards integration. Thus the issue over UK sovereignty and parliamentary democracy had always been a contentious point.”

agreement is reached, the UK will be officially exiled from the EU and subject to none of the benefits and all of the restrictions of a foreign country.

With such a perilous and negative path forward, many in the UK are calling for a new referendum. Both the public and members of the Conservative party have lobbied May to hold at least a vote by Parliament, but her position has come down that there will be no vote, but will allow Parliamentary discussion. Her position is that the people have spoken. But as Prof. Cameron pointed out, have they? For example, only 72% of the population voted, leaving 28% who didn’t along with the 48% who voted to remain. In addition, Scotland and N. Ireland almost universally voted remain. The voted were also skewed demographically, with younger voters overwhelmingly voting remain with older and working class areas voting to leave. A surprising result was that many Labour areas in primarily working class districts voted to leave. A testament to the ineffectiveness of the current Labour leadership and party strength.

But for better or worse, the Conservative party and Theresa May are leading the country for the foreseeable future. Especially as Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn fights off continuous revolts and no confidence votes of his own party, the Liberal Democrat party remains in disarray, and even UKIP has descended into fist fights (literally) as Nigel Farage stepped down as head of the party.

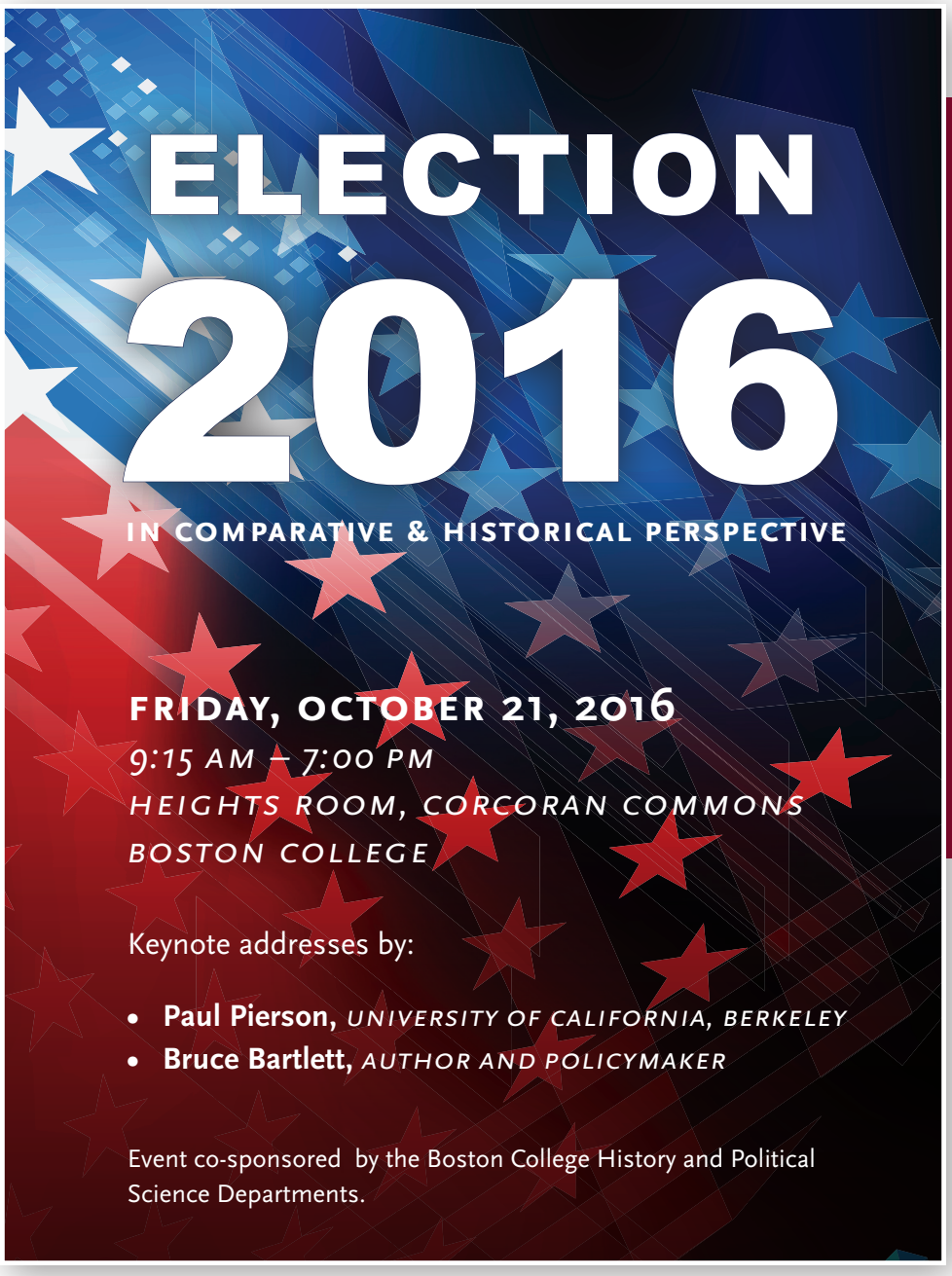
Whatever the future holds for the UK, Prime Minister David Cameron’s decision to call for a referendum will, in the words of the Professor David Cameron, be remembered as one of the “worst decisions made by a head of government in the UK.”

About David Cameron

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

David Cameron is a Professor of Political Science at Yale and the Director of the Yale Program in European Union Studies. He has taught at Yale since 1975. He has served, at various times, as chair, director of graduate studies, and director of undergraduate studies of the department. He teaches courses on European politics and the European Union.

He has written extensively about the impact of trade openness on government and, with respect to the EU, about the initiative to complete the internal market, the operation of the European Monetary System, the negotiation and implementation of Economic and Monetary Union, the enlargement of the EU, the eurozone debt crisis, and, most recently, the EU's Eastern Partnership and the crisis in Ukraine. His publications include "The Expansion of the Public Economy: A Comparative Analysis," *American Political Science Review*, 1978 (one of the ten most-cited APSR articles in the 60 years between 1945 and 2005); *Globalization and Self-Determination: Is the Nation-State under Siege?* (Routledge, 2006), co-edited with Gustav Ranis and Annalisa Zinn; "Post-Communist Democracy: The Impact of the European Union," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 23, July-September 2007; "Creating Market Economies after Communism: The Impact of the European Union," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 25, January-March 2009; and "Post-Soviet Authoritarianism: The Influence of Russia in Its "Near Abroad," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 28, January-March 2012.



KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY BRUCE BARTLETT

Author and Policymaker

One aspect of the 2016 elections is not new: white working class voters, especially from the South, make up the largest and most consistent support base for the Republican nominee. Once upon a time these voters—the "hard-hats" in Northern industrial cities and small businessmen and farmers in the South—were solid Democrats. They supported "everyman" presidents like Harry Truman and Lyndon Johnson but also American aristocrats like Franklin Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy.

Over the last forty years, those allegiances flipped. The white working class voted for every Republican nominee from Reagan to Romney. Now they are voting for Donald Trump, a scandal-ridden populist billionaire whose explicit anti-free trade and anti-immigrant stances are widely denounced in the media but met with loud cheers at rallies. How did the Democrats lose the white working class? And how did the Republicans become the party of economic protectionism and religious and racial intolerance?

No one is better qualified than Bruce Bartlett to answer these questions. After working for congressmen Ron Paul and Jack Kemp in the late 1970s, Bartlett spent most of the following decade working with Congress and the Reagan Administration

to pass the 1981 and 1986 tax cuts that defined the Republican Party's economic policy approach for over three decades. The cuts made some sense at the time, Bartlett explains, and Reagan also instituted several tax increases to offset revenue loss. But when the George W. Bush Administration refused to give up the ghost of supply-side theory—ironically, what Bush Sr. once called "voodoo economics"—Bartlett left the party. A self-described "Burkean conservative," he is now convinced that the Republican Party is a "serious pathology in our body politic," having completely abandoned not just old policy stances on deficits, trade, and immigration but also the idea of compromise itself.

Like many, Bartlett reaches back to the Nixon years to explain these shifts. The usual narrative, he says, begins in the 1968 elections. The "evil genius" Nixon, the story goes, used code to appeal to working class whites, particularly in the South, who opposed the Democratic Party's embrace of black civil rights. But this is not entirely accurate. In 1968, Bartlett explains, Alabama Governor and "Dixiecrat" George Wallace was the natural fit for Southern racists, while Nixon played up his civil rights bona fides to win over the black voters who went for Eisenhower in 1956.

According to Bartlett, the "critical year" is 1974, not 1968. The Democratic Party had been moving toward a pro-civil rights consensus since the early 1960s, and traditional Southern Democrats, many of whom had been in Congress for several decades, were in the way. In 1974 a new class of Democratic congressmen and senators—the so-called "Watergate babies"—actively tried to push them out. They accomplished this by getting rid of seniority, thus ending the ageing Southern Democrats' stranglehold on the most powerful committees.

At this point, Bartlett says, those seats became open to new Republicans, one of whom was Newt Gingrich, House class of '78. Gingrich saw that most of these Democrats had been running unopposed for decades, and those districts' deep social conservatism had little space in the post-Civil Rights Era Democratic Party. Many ageing Southern Democrats simply quit, while those that stayed were either defeated by their Republican challenger or forced to switch parties.

At least initially, cross-party cooperation was possible. Reagan signed 11 major tax increases after the 1981 tax cuts, and by 1988 he had taken back 50% of them. This was still a net cut, but Republicans' ideological flexibility did not last. When George H. W. Bush endorsed a modest tax increase to pay for the Gulf War, Gingrich organized nearly all Republicans to oppose the president. According to Bartlett, Gingrich did this because he wanted Bush, a moderate Republican, out of the way. That is, if Bush were defeated and Bill Clinton elected, Gingrich's army of social and economic ideologues would elect him Speaker of the House,

giving him control over the Republican Party's legislative agenda. And it worked. "Newt got the ball rolling," Bartlett says, and "by 1994 the process was complete." Republicans gained 54 seats in the House and 8 in the Senate in the "Revolution of '94." One year later, the new revolutionaries elected Gingrich Speaker.

When George W. Bush was elected Bartlett still considered himself a Republican, but his criticisms of the party were not without consequence. His newspaper columns had already gotten him into trouble with his employer, a prominent conservative think tank based in Dallas; his 2005 book, Imposter: How George W. Bush Bankrupted America and Betrayed the Reagan Legacy, cost him his job. ("Your book is costing us contributions," he was told.) He also lost his Republican friends in Washington, some of whom he had known for decades. "The universal reaction was, you're a traitor," he recalled, "even from those [Republicans] who didn't like Bush."

Bartlett says that this "tribal loyalty" is the "central problem," in Washington but also across the country. The 40% of voters who support Trump "has to include normal, sensible people, not just racists and idiots," he points out. "What binds people together to support Trump?"

There are many answers, but Bartlett places much of the blame on the news media. Before Fox News came along in the mid-90s, Republicans thought the media was hopelessly biased against them. With Fox, they now have a 24/7 network praising them; add to this the long-established popularity of talk radio and new prominence of right-wing online media, a "self-brainwashing" is taking place. The Republican base now listens to Limbaugh, watches Hannity, and reads Breitbart all in one day—while neither seeing nor believing anything else.

Bartlett suggests one solution: make "real journalism" a "public good." We have done this before, he explains: decades ago radio and TV stations got free spectrum in exchange for promising some public service programming, and we also used to have subsidized mailing rates for newspapers and magazines. What we need, Bartlett insists, is a "new type of subsidy from the private sector" modeled after academic chairmanships—the donor gives without strings and expects no editorial influence over the recipient's work. "Why not the Ford Foundation Fellow in International Reporting at the New York Times?" he wonders. "You can go hire the best foreign journalist you can find."

A few problems come to mind. First, it is not always true that private sector academic sponsorship is without strings (cf. the pharmaceutical industry and medical studies, oil and gas companies and environmental studies, and so on). Second, over the last several years we have already seen an explosion of big money from corporations and the super-wealthy into media, in the form of super-PAC contributions spent on television, radio, and internet ad buys. Do we really expect them to change their minds and spend their money on tough, independent, non-profit journalism instead? Third, intelligent, thoughtful, and accessible domestic and international news coverage already exists. It is indeed under threat, as Bartlett says, but people choose Fox and MSNBC over the Journal and the Times anyway.

To be fair, American democracy is an ongoing project with many components. Its moral and functional integrity rises and falls due to several knowable and unknowable reasons, making any proposal to improve it necessarily inadequate. But understanding its current problems is the first step, and Bartlett's analysis of the rise of hyper-partisanship and the Republican Party's mutation is a significant improvement on the old Nixon narrative, which historians, political scientists, and talking heads alike have repeated to each other for at least a decade.

To paraphrase the great physicist Enrico Fermi, we went into the Clough "Election 2016" conference confused. Having listened to Bartlett and the rest of the speakers we remain confused—but at a higher level.

PANEL 1: Parties and the Electorate: Structures and Strategies

Entering Boston College's Heights Room, packed with political scholars from across the country on this early morning in October, one cannot help but wonder if the combined intellect assembled for the day's proceedings would finally be enough to make sense of a truly confounding presidential election or if it would simply provide confirmation that our frameworks for understanding the latest evolutions of U.S. political life have become outmoded. The participants of the day's first panel quickly distinguished themselves as adept surveyors of the political scene and the long-term trends that have influenced the uniqueness of the 2016 election. Yet, for all the clarity, lingering questions and worries hovered on the peripheries of both the speakers' and the audience's awareness, establishing a tone for the day that would fluctuate between moments of refreshing insight and others of unsettling concern.

Alan Abramowitz began the proceedings with a presentation entitled "Trump, Clinton, and the Polarized Electorate." For those who may have doubted the extent of the nation's political divisions, Professor Abramowitz's adept empirical analysis quickly dispelled such optimism. We appear to have entered, according to Abramowitz, a new era in electoral competition. The previous era, stretching from the 1950s into the early 1980s, witnessed a far more competitive political landscape where neither party

maintained a prolonged hold on significant portions of the electorate. Between 1948 and 1984, for example, there were five landslide victories in presidential elections. Between 1984 and 2012, there have not been any. In the 1976 election, twenty states were competitive (meaning the margin of victory in that state was less than 5% of votes cast). In 2012, only four states were decided by the same margin. In other words, we have entered an era where political beliefs have become so deeply entrenched and where party loyalty is at an all-time high, making most states either markedly "Republican" or markedly "Democrat."

The causes of this partisanship are, Abramowitz points out, many years in the making, but can be attributed largely to two phenomena: racial and ethnic divisions, on the one hand, and religious and moral divisions on the other. Racial divisions have, of course, a long—not to mention violent—history in the U.S., and as the electorate, in general, grows more diverse, race, in many ways, becomes the dividing line between the parties (58% of Democrats identify themselves as non-Hispanic white voters versus 89% of Republicans). The religious divide compounds those issues, especially because of its ability to transcend other drivers of political leanings: for white religious voters, family income has virtually no impact on voting, as the least wealthy are just as likely to vote Republican as the wealthiest. These two factors alone greatly explain why the ideological distance between even "median" Democrats and Republicans has increased remarkably in the past twenty years. And an era of domestic rapprochement seems nowhere in sight.

Journalist David Daley took the podium next and delivered an exhaustively researched, and largely foreboding, analysis of Republican gerrymandering in the wake of Barack Obama's 2008 election. Daley detailed Republican strategist Chris Jankowski's plan to target elections for state legislatures, which would allow Republicans to control the process of redistricting that is required every ten years. As Daley points out, "it was so brilliant and so simple it's amazing it hadn't been attempted before." With cloak-and-dagger tactics and plenty of "dark money," Republicans effectively played "political money ball" in what Daley describes as "one of the greatest political heists in American history." The result was a resounding success: the gerrymandered districts, engineered with predictive models and sophisticated algorithms, produced a flurry of Republican victories in the House of Representatives, creating a Republican "firewall" that is almost impossible to dislodge in the short term.

Political scientist David Hopkins then presented an insightful analysis of what he calls "asymmetrical politics": the fact that the two political parties do not just hold different ideas about U.S. political life, but that they are two completely different kinds of parties. Democrats, he argues, are guided by an ethos that emphasizes particular policy positions and the forging of coalitions to bring them to fruition. The approach combines a technocratic, incrementalist style of policymaking with a pragmatic style of governing that focuses on legislative productivity and achievement, relying, therefore, on mainstream media for the broad dissemination of political information. The Republican Party, on the other hand, emphasizes broad ideological themes rather than specific policy proposals, relying on ideological purity (often cultivated through their own media sources) and "procedural aggression" rather than political pragmatism. Understanding the party in this way, Hopkins asserts, allows us to better understand the series of seemingly unprecedented events witnessed over the past several years, including sitting House Majority leader Eric Cantor's primary loss, the ousting of Speaker of the House John Boehner, and, of course, the rise of Donald Trump.
All three presenters provided a wealth of empirical analysis explaining, in effect, how we got to where we are in American

politics. What remained hazy is what is likely to happen in the coming years and how we go about addressing—and overcoming—the deep political divisions and asymmetry haunting the political landscape. One audience member countered the combined pessimism of Abramowitz, Daley, and (to a certain extent) Hopkins by asking how the political right, should Hillary Clinton win in November, will continue to accept a political strategy that cannot win them the presidency? The fate of the Republican Party is, of course, one of the great unknowns at the moment. But one thing seemed clear as the proceedings of the first panel came to a close: that the continuation of bitter partisanship and asymmetrical politics, while bolstering plenty of fiercely loyal support for the two U.S. political parties, will almost certainly continue to undermine the electorate's general faith in the U.S. system of governing.

PANEL II: Trump, Clinton, and What They Tell Us About America

On Friday, October 21, 2016, the Clough Center held an all-day conference, "Election 2016 in Comparative and Historical Perspective." After an engaging welcome and enlightening panel on parties and the electorate, the second session of the day focused specifically on the current major party candidates, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, and what their respective candidacies mean for the current state of American politics and the future direction of our country.

Moderated by Boston College Political Science Professor Kenneth Kirsch, the panel began with a presentation from American historian Ellen Fitzpatrick from the University of New Hampshire. Fitzpatrick began by describing a female presidential candidate who has been criticized for her connections to Wall Street even though she is a strong advocate for the working class, who has had her marriage brought up as a topic of debate, and who has been called "untrustworthy," and even likened to "the devil." Much to the surprise of many in the audience, Fitzpatrick was not referring to Hillary Clinton, but to Victoria Woodhull, who, in 1872, was the first woman to run for president of the United States. According to Fitzpatrick, Hillary Clinton's candidacy cannot be understood without knowing how she got to where she is now and thereby, acknowledging the over two hundred women who preceded her in running for president. She pointed to the struggles faced by the longest serving female senator in United States history, Margaret Chase Smith, as a Republican candidate in the 1964 presidential election, and Shirley Chisolm, the first African American woman elected to Congress, as a Democratic candidate in the 1972 election to debunk the claim that "gender does not matter in politics." Such a claim ignores the major factors that derailed prior female candidates. For Fitzpatrick, the historical experience of women in politics of which so many Americans are ignorant suggests that if Hillary Clinton does not win the 2016 presidential election, women will have a long wait for a female Commander in Chief.

The second panelist, Arthur Goldhammer from the Center of European Studies at Harvard University, began his talk with an apt quote from Alexis de Tocqueville, who said, "the epoch of the election of the President of the United States may be considered a crisis in the affairs of the nation." This is no less true today than it was for de Tocqueville in the 19th century, as the whole nation is glowing with "feverish excitement" and the election

seems to be the topic of all conversation. However, Goldhammer pointed out that there is something unique and different about the 2016 election, namely the rise of voluntarism, or the "triumph of the will," embodied by the candidacy of Donald Trump. He compared "Trumpism," with its closest analogue in Europe, the Brexit decision in the UK, as both are examples of "statist voluntarism," revolting against the elite with the belief that the state can do whatever it wants in order to fulfill what is believed to be the will of the people. While there are similarities between populist, or voluntarist, voting in the United States and Europe, Goldhammer concluded that the mood in the United States is more alarming, even though the economic situation is worse in Europe due to the fragmentation decision making of the European Union. While one could expect more anger from Europe, Goldhammer believes there is more divisive rhetoric and violence in the United States, which is a cause for worry.

Following Goldhammer's treatment of Trump's candidacy, Heather Richardson of the Boston College History Department, addressed the burning question, "is the Republican Party dead?" In contrast to many speculations to the contrary, Richardson stated that the GOP is "in good shape," and that this is "good for the country." To support this position, Richardson provided some background information about the formation of the GOP in 1854. Opposed to the expansion of slavery, the GOP arose with the belief that the government should focus on the people at the bottom. These people, the GOP believed, would produce more than they consume, therefore expanding the middle class and contributing to the rise of corporate elites, who would then hire more people at the bottom. When the GOP split in the 1930s over the New Deal, we often forget that the vast majority signed on to the original vision of Republicans like Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, and Eisenhower, and only a small group attacked the concept of government regulation and social welfare. This latter small group, however, gained more power due to the sexist and racist attitudes that emerged in the 1950s and 1960s which subscribed to rhetoric that accused liberals of transferring wealth from "hard-working whites" to "lazy blacks and women." The rise of gerrymandering and propaganda websites created a situation of an uneducated demographic ripe for convincing by a salesman, namely, Donald Trump. However, the tepid reaction of many leading GOP politicians to Trump's candidacy and the history of the formation of the GOP demonstrate to us that the GOP is not a monolithic group. Thus, Richardson predicts that instead of the death of the GOP, we will soon see the rise of a new progressive era. According to Richardson, most American still fall in the middle of the political spectrum, but the media portrays a greater polarization between Democrats and Republicans than actually exists.

Overall, the panel demonstrated the legitimacy of both optimistic approaches to the upcoming election, and more pessimistic fears about the state of our country. The panelists remind us that we can find wisdom for approaching the 2016 election by studying America's past. Four years from now, it would certainly be interesting to re-enter discussion with the panelists and see if their predictions come true. Namely, if Hillary does not win, will, as Fitzpatrick predicts, women wait a long time for the next female president, or would another formidable female candidate emerge victorious in 2020 or 2024? If Hillary does win, will the 2020 Republican nominee, as Richardson suggests, be someone who is not in the news right now, instead of a big name like Paul Ryan? Only time will tell. We have many reasons to look forward to another conference like this one four years from now.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY PAUL PIERSON

Political Science, University of California, Berkeley

In his keynote address, Paul Pierson, John Gross Professor of Political Science at the University of California at Berkeley, drew attention to the structural transformations in American politics that have made the candidacy of Donald J. Trump possible in the November 2016 elections. Drawing from his book co-authored with Jacob S. Hacker, American Amnesia, he sketches five factors that have allowed for Trump to win the nomination of the Republican Party. The first is the economic transformation that has taken place over the previous decades which has led to wage stagnation, in particular among white working class voters. He adds: "There have been some Americans who have not seen a pay rise in the last 40 years." Second, he points to the demographic changes and the role of race in shaping contemporary American politics. Third, Pierson stresses the role of the radically transformed conservative media, in particular the effect of Fox news and talk radio on conservative voters. The fourth factor, which comprises the bulk of his argument, is the transformation of the GOP itself. Pierson, is one of the earliest adopters of "asymmetric polarization", the idea that growing polarization in American politics is primarily the result of change within the Republican party and that the Republicans are more ideologically grounded than the Democratic party. The rationale is simple: the Republican Party is dominated by ideologues who are committed to small-government principles, while Democrats represent a coalition of social groups seeking public policies that favor their particular interests.

Quoting from Mann and Ornstein's book It's Even Worse Than it Looks, he agrees with the view that Republicans have resisted efforts to moderate and have become more extreme since the days of Newt Gingrich. Finally, he argues that the structure of Ameri-

can institutions lends itself to this dysfunction and that most Americans are unaware of the fact that we have unusual political institutions. He notes that two party presidentialism with single member districts and a winner takes all system is peculiar to the United States among economically developed nations. Political scientists have shown that presidentialism is more vulnerable to risks, in particular the potential for tension between parties. The American political system has always required compromise but previously facilitated compromise because you had weak and decentralized parties. In contemporary politics, he argues that parties have become stronger and because of the "nationalization of politics", the federal government having more control over policy, the parties have greater incentives to fight and the stakes have become much higher. This gridlock, dysfunction, and partisan rancor exemplified by government shutdowns, failure to even consider Supreme Court nominations, and birtherism, according to Pierson, is not neutral and on balance benefits Republicans, damaging the governing party and the party of the President. Ending with a pessimistic note, Pierson concludes that Trump's defeat will not change any of this and that his nomination is simply an outgrowth of anti-system change building on the right.

PANEL III: Issues, Interests, and Voters

After a hearty lunch and an invigorating keynote address by political scientist Paul Pierson of the University of California, Berkeley, the third session of the conference was entitled "Issues, Interests, and Voters." In this session, the audience learned how anxiety, religion, motherhood, and misinformation affect political thinking and outcomes.

Professor Shana Gadarian of Syracuse University kicked off the panel discussing the recent book she co-authored with Bethany Albertson, entitled Anxious Politics: Democratic Citizenship in a Threatening World. According to Gadarian, anxiety is consequential for how people understand political life. In her work, Gadarian distinguishes between two types of threats. Unframed threats are rarely politicized, as the cause of harm is mostly agreed upon. This is usually the case with disease outbreaks. Framed threats are those in which the cause of harm and the solution to the problem are widely debated. This is the case with highly-politicized issues like climate change, immigration, and the War on Terror. Overall, Gadarian's research finds that anxiety boots trust in those who emerge as "experts" in dealing with a particular anxiety-provoking problem. Partisanship plays a role in this process, as the Democratic and Republican parties "own" certain issues. For example, the GOP is seen by both Democrats and Republicans to be the "owner" of national security and therefore, they are able, through use of media, to use this to their advantage by pushing people from both parties to be more trusting of them on dealing with immigration. Yet, Gadarian explained that having a well-devised solution may outweigh the advantage gained from partisan ownership. This is seen in the case of Donald Trump and the question of whether a terrorist attack would help him win the election. While the GOP has been known to have ownership over national security and a terrorist attack might help a more conventional GOP candidate, the Democratic nominee and former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is seen to have more expertise in dealing terrorism.

The second panelist, Brandeis professor Jill Greenlee's talk was entitled "Gender and the 2016 Presidential Race." The issue of gender is especially poignant, as this election marks the first time that a woman has been on the presidential ballot as a major party candidate. Greenlee explained that two things are not unique about Hillary Clinton's path to the presidency. First, like many women who have taken up a political office for the first time, she is associated with a powerful man, namely, her husband, former President Bill Clinton. Also, like most women who have run for office, she is more qualified than her male opponent. Because women often have lower ambition than men, fewer women seek political office. In turn, the few that seek such office tend to have better credentials. Greenlee, who authored a book entitled, The Political Consequences of Motherhood, also illustrated how motherhood has often functioned as a socially acceptable way for women to legitimize their political engagement and political demands. While the appeal to women voters as mothers is nothing new, Clinton is unique in that she appeals to mothers as a mother and grandmother herself. Something else that is unique about this election is that the gender gap, which emerged in the 1980s when women began to vote for Democratic candidates in higher percentages than men, is expected to be larger than ever in the 2016 election, possibly as high as 24 percentage points. Such a gap increases the likelihood of Clinton winning the election, an event that, according to Greenlee, would have a positive impact on young girls in the United States. Female politicians, she argued, tend to have a role-model effect. While girls are less likely than boys to be engaged in political discussion in the home, a female candidate decreases this trend, bringing more girls into political discussion and increasing their desire to hold political office themselves someday.

The third panelist, Boston College History Professor James O'Toole, moved the discussion from the role of gender to the role of religion in the 2016 election. The role of religion in politics, O'Toole argued, has changed from years past. While President Bill Clinton was frequently pictured attending Methodist services with his family, O'Toole describes Obama as "the most secular president" in history, as his terms in office have

been marked by very little "overt religious practice." While past presidents were expected to be regular churchgoers, today's voters are not perturbed by Obama's lack of overt religiosity. An estimated twenty percent of the population identify as "religious nones." From this new modern situation, O'Toole discussed the predictions of how particular religious will influence this upcoming election. Trump, he pointed out, is extremely unpopular with Mormons, and thus, may lose the state of Utah to a third-party candidate. Catholics, who are typically described as swing-voters, are expected to be less interesting in 2016. The majority of Catholics, most especially Hispanics, are supporting Hillary Clinton. Evangelical Christians are perhaps the most complex group in 2016. While evangelicals have been central to the GOP coalition in years past, many have reservations about Trump, and he has less support from this group than past Republican nominees.

Finally, Boston College Political Science Professor Emily Thorson ended the panel with a discussion on the role of misinformation in politics. She started her talk by making a very important distinction between misinformation and misperceptions. Misinformation is false information that is available to voters. Misperceptions are false beliefs in voter's heads. Not all exposure to misinformation leads to misperceptions, and not all misperceptions come from misinformation. While the topic of misinformation may sound depressing to some, Thorson made the case that there are three reasons for optimism going forward. First, most information, according to Thorson, makes no difference as to how people vote. According to theory of motivational reasoning, partisanship affects the information one seeks out as well as the information one believes. The second reason for optimism is the recent uptick in sources dedicated to fact-checking. Such sources give politicians incentive not to lie. Lastly, many misperceptions are correctable because they are not politicized and are actually held by both parties. Misinformation and misperceptions have a lot less power to actually change the electorate than most of us imagine.

All four panelists showed how particular issues and identity groups influence the political climate. They seem to expose the myth of a neutral vote that remains unaffected by his or her religious or cultural upbringing, race or gender, or social location when heading to the polls. Seeing these four panelists together speaks to the continued need for interdisciplinary approaches to hot-button questions and issues, and in particular, contributions not just from the fields of history and political science, but also of theology/religious studies, psychology, journalism, and women's/gender studies.

PANEL IV: Consequences, Domestic and International

If Donald Trump's supporters and detractors agree on one thing, it's that the 2016 Presidential election will have massive domestic and international consequences. Most of that discussion has revolved around what would happen should Trump win, since it is he, not Hillary Clinton, who promises a substantial departure from the last eight years.

If we know anything, says R. Shep Melnick, we know that we are bad at predictions. Given how poorly political scientists and talking heads gauged Trump's potential at the beginning of the Republican primaries, we are especially bad at predicting Trump. That is why Melnick, BC's Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. Professor of American Politics, focused on the second big question in the election: Who will control the House and Senate? According to Melnick, it looks like the Democrats will narrowly control the Senate, while the Republicans will keep control of the House. If the Democrats have a full sweep there might be a chance to pass some substantial legislation, as President Obama was able to do in his first two years, despite Republican intransigency.

Recent history shows that most of a president's political capital is spent in those first two years; after that, presidents typically turn to other areas over which Congress has less authority, such as foreign policy. But Obama has also found ways of doing things without Congress, namely, using executive control over cabinet-level agencies to determine and enforce new labor, environmental, immigration, and health care regulations across states. Republican governors and attorneys general have of course resisted these moves, with varying degrees of success. But it is clear, Melnick believes, that we are "entering a new world of executive/federalism disputes," as Republicans and Democrats debate the constitutionality of new forms of executive policymaking.

Polls now overwhelming suggest that Trump will lose the election. But what happens to the Republican Party after Trump? As a recent Trump commercial insists, "It is a movement, not a campaign." And that "movement" consists mainly of the white, working-class voters upon which the GOP's electoral strategy has been based for nearly 40 years.

Alex Keyssar, Matthew W. Stirling, Jr. Professor of History and Social Policy at Harvard's Kennedy School, envisions a few scenarios. One is that Trump breaks away and starts his own party. Then, Keyssar notes, he would discover whom the elections are really rigged against—third parties. But even if Trump goes away more or less for good, he has brought the "mythology" of voter fraud from the fringes of the Republican Party to the very center: 58% of Republicans now believe it is "rampant." The voter ID laws that have come forth from state legislatures across the country are here to stay, Keyssar believes, and Republicans will make sure that they are as strict as possible. These laws also have

a clear racial tinge—supporters overwhelmingly identify black inner cities as the source of the problem—which Trump's barely disguised rhetoric reaffirms. Regardless, Keyssar concludes, we are in for an "era of sharpened, intensified conflict over the shape of political economy and the democratic process."

Beyond his disdain for America's system of alliances and professed respect for Vladimir Putin, Trump's foreign policy is similarly unclear. Instead, BC History Professor James Cronin says, it might be more useful to step back and analyze the state of the post-Cold War order. In the early 1990s, he explains, American policymakers spoke of a "unipolar moment" in which the U.S., shed of its main rival, was now the "indispensible nation." The decade moved fast: NATO was transformed, the European Union was created and enlarged, the U.S. government exhibited a new faith in the United Nations, the World Trade Organization was created. These efforts to shore up old Cold War alliances for a new age were based not on solidifying American hegemony, Cronin argues, but on creating an architecture within which the global economy would work. The trick was to build a system that was flexible enough to adapt to new challenges and adopt new challengers.

We anticipated some of those challenges, like the rise of China and, to a lesser extent, the reemergence of a hostile Russia. We did not, however, anticipate 9/11. Bush's unilateralism was not expected by our allies and did a lot of damage to the U.S.' credibility in the post-Cold War order. Then, the 2008 recession hit, substantially discrediting the economic side of that order, neoliberalism. The Obama Administration spent 8 years trying to repair that damage, including a return to multilateralism and attempts at a more productive relationship with Russia. But the top priority was turning away from overextension in Afghanistan and Iraq, which, the rise of ISIS demonstrates, was not consequence-free.

Clinton would probably continue this basic thrust, Cronin says, but would "maybe be a bit more hawkish" in the Middle East. Again, Trump is impossible to predict. We know from his comments about NATO that he would harm American alliances, but there's a "great contrast between his rhetoric and specific policies." That is, Trump talks tough, promising to "wipe 'em out" (Islamic terrorists), but he also says that the U.S. should not be involved in Iraq and have nothing to do with Syria—except, he suggests, working with Putin.

We should be less surprised at the two candidates' economic policy proposals, says Robert Murphy, Professor of Economics at BC. As in 2008 and 2012, the Republican candidate wants tax cuts more or less across the board, more spending on defense, and less discretionary spending, and the Democrat wants more taxes on the wealthy to pay for new spending on infrastructure and jobs programs. There are some breaks, Murphy notes. Trump is much more protectionist than previous Republicans and has also sharply criticized both the policy and mission of the Federal Reserve. This also marks the first time in over 50 years that no living member of the Council of Economic Advisors endorsed the Republican nominee.

We can predict the candidates' economic plans with some precision. Both candidates claim that their proposals are revenue neutral and will lead to more economic growth and jobs. Yet, the numbers show significant divergence. While the impact on growth and jobs appears modest, Clinton's plans are pretty much paid for. Trump's plans are not, nor will they create anything near the 25 million jobs or 3.5% annual GDP growth he promises (at the last debate, he upped it to "maybe 5%").

It remains to be seen how much any of this actually matters. "After all of this year's election turmoil," the Wall Street Journal reported on October 20, the morning after the final presidential debate, "public views of the two candidates have wound up right where they were in January." In fact, back in January 9 out of 10 voters said they already knew enough about Trump and Clinton to make their decision: they were 51% in favor of a Clinton presidency and 41% a Trump presidency then, and they are now.

Thus, we should not expect anything to change between now and November 8, no matter what additional emails or videos are leaked. People cast their votes 10 months ago, if not earlier. Thus, as muddled as they might be, the details of Trump's tax plan or Clinton's policy on Syria are far less significant, at least in the election cycle, than those of us who teach and write and think about economics and history and public policy believe (or would like to believe) they are. The real question is, will a greater number of Clinton's 51% come out to vote on election day than Trump's 41%? The polls suggest yes, but as someone who believed the Republican leadership would never "let" Trump become the nominee ("It has to be Jeb," I remember insisting to a colleague last October) and that he would continue to receive their support (not to mention 40% of the country's!) through every offense and disgrace—well, I'll keep the predictions to myself.

Conference Program

9:15 AM · WELCOME

9:30 AM · SESSION I: Parties and the Electorate: Structures and Strategies

CHAIR: **Kay Schlozman**, Political Science, Boston College
Alan Abramowitz, Political Science, Emory University
David Daley, author of *Ratf**ked*
David Hopkins, Political Science, Boston College

11:15 AM · SESSION II: Trump, Clinton, and What They Tell Us About America

CHAIR: **Kenneth Kersch,** Political Science, Boston College
Ellen Fitzpatrick, History, University of New Hampshire
Arthur Goldhammer, Center for European Studies, Harvard University
Heather Richardson, History, Boston College

12:45 PM · LUNCH AND KEYNOTE ADDRESS

By **Paul Pierson**, Political Science, University of California, Berkeley
CHAIR: **David Hopkins**

2:00 PM · SESSION III: Issues, Interests, and Voters

CHAIR: **Martin Summers**, History and African and African Diaspora Studies, Boston College
Shana Gadarian, Maxwell School, Syracuse University
Jill Greenlee, Politics, Brandeis University
James O'Toole, History, Boston College
Emily Thorson, Political Science, Boston College

3:30 PM · SESSION IV: Consequences, Domestic and International

CHAIR: **Alan Rogers,** History, Boston College
Jim Cronin, History, Boston College
Alex Keyssar, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
R. Shep Melnick, Political Science, Boston College
Robert Murphy, Economics, Boston College

5:00 PM · KEYNOTE ADDRESS

By **Bruce Bartlett**, author and policymaker
CHAIR: **Heather Richardson**

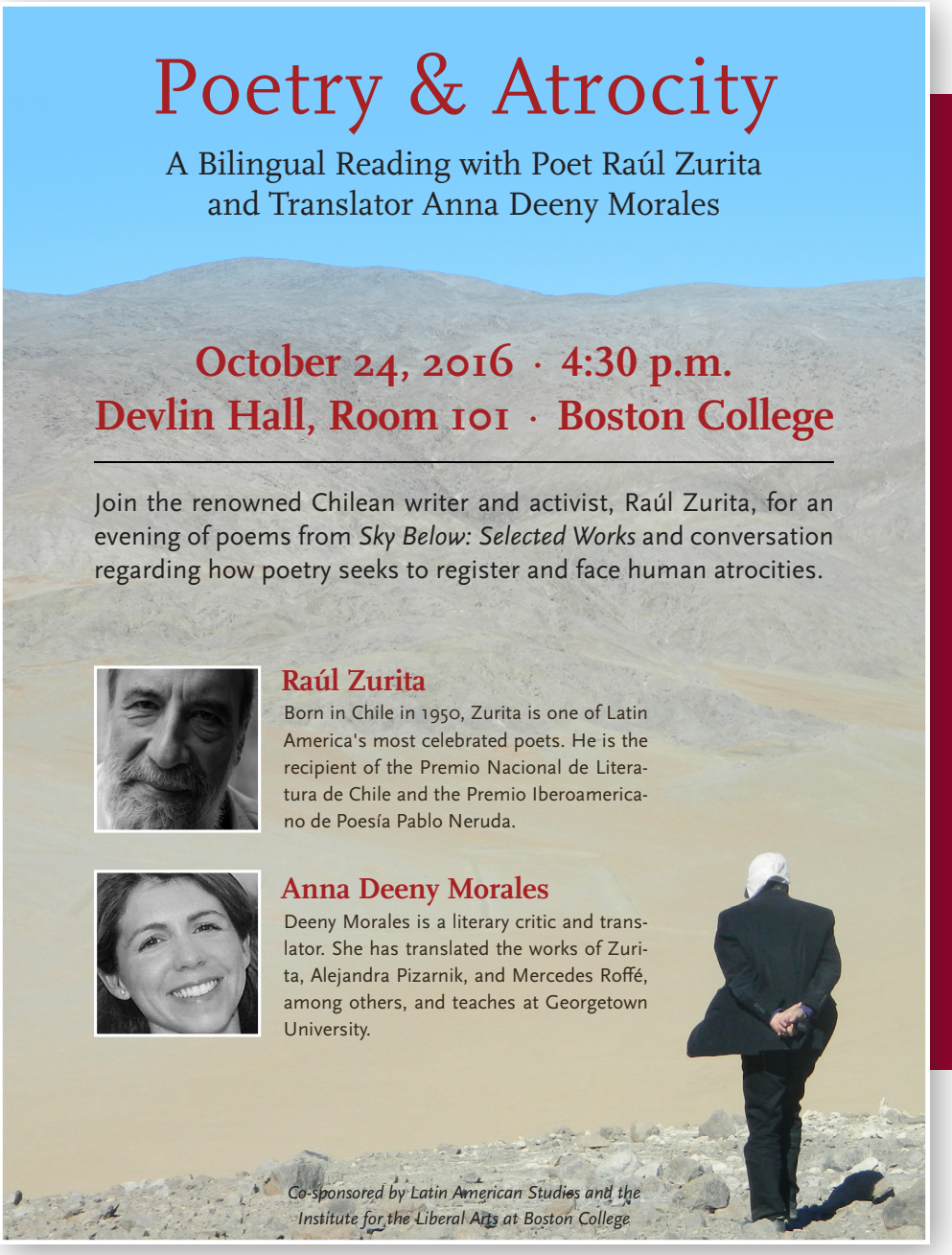
6:00 PM · RECEPTION

About the Keynote Speakers

For complete bios of all the conference participants, please visit www.bc.edu/cloughconference.

BRUCE BARTLETT has spent many years in government, including service on the staffs of Representatives Ron Paul and Jack Kemp, and Senator Roger Jepsen. He has been executive director of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, senior policy analyst in the Reagan White House, and deputy assistant secretary for economic policy at the Treasury Department during the George H.W. Bush administration. Mr. Bartlett is also a columnist for *The Fiscal Times*, an online newspaper covering public and personal finance, and *Tax Notes*, a weekly magazine for tax practitioners and policy makers. He was previously a columnist for *Forbes* magazine and *Creators Syndicate*. His writing often focuses on the intersection between politics and economics and seeks to inform politicians about economics, and economists about the current nature of politics. He is the author of the *New York Times* best-seller *Impostor: How George W. Bush Bankrupted America and Betrayed the Reagan Legacy* (2006) and *The New American Economy: The Failure of Reaganomics and a New Way Forward* (2009). His latest book, *The Benefit and the Burden* (2012), is a history and review of issues related to tax reform.

PAUL PIERSON is the John Gross Professor of Political Science at the University of California at Berkeley. Pierson's teaching and research includes the fields of American politics and public policy, comparative political economy, and social theory. His most recent book is *Winner-Take-All Politics: How Washington Made the Rich Richer and Turned Its Back on the Middle Class* (Simon and Schuster 2010), also co-authored by Jacob Hacker. Pierson is an active commentator on public affairs, whose writings have recently appeared in such outlets as *The New York Times* magazine, *The Washington Post*, and *The New Republic*. Pierson is also the author of *Dismantling the Welfare State? Reagan, Thatcher, and the Politics of Retrenchment* (Cambridge 1994), which won the American Political Science Association's 1995 prize for the best book on American national politics. His article "Increasing returns, path dependence, and the study of politics" won the APSA's prize for the best article in the American Political Science Review in 2000, as well as the Aaron Wildavsky Prize for its enduring contribution to the field of public policy, awarded by the Public Policy Section of the APSA in 2011. He has served on the editorial boards of The American Political Science Review, Perspectives on Politics, and The Annual Review of Political Science. From 2007 to 2010 he served as Chair of the Berkeley political science department.



Chile. 11 September 1973. Following three years of social polarization, the army overthrows the government of the socialist Salvador Allende, the Unidad Popular, Popular Unity, a coalition of six Marxist and Social Democratic parties that had achieved the historic feat of gaining power through peaceful elections in a democratic country. The military coup sets the stage for the ruthless persecution of the adherents of the fallen government. With the Unidad Popular deemed retroactively to have been acting outside of the law, its supporters become criminals. Chile's forbidding geography, over four thousand kilometers of coastline, from the northern desert of Atacama (the driest in the world), to the southern Patagonian fjords, serves as the backdrop for an ambitious and murderous plan to cleanse the country from the specter of Marxism. An estimated 200,000 Chileans pass through the camps established by the military, over 40,000 suffer torture, and 3,000 are killed. An unknown number of bodies are thrown from helicopters over the Pacific Ocean. Their bodies, if at all, are found scattered over the beaches, or crushed against the breakers.

Although Zurita does not introduce himself as a formerly persecuted Allendista, this becomes very clear while listening to his poetry recounted in a wrenching voice. Raul Zurita's poetry is permeated by the experience of torture, imprisonment, and

death under the military regime under the control of Army General Augusto Pinochet. His poetry recounts the loss of innocence of a twenty-two year young man thrust to the frontline of the Cold War. His first poem "Pastoral" sets the stage for a sorrowful poetry that circulates around the theme of the profanation of humanity and nature alike by authoritarian military ruthlessness. The imagery depicted is hardly pastoral, but threatening, "only the bad guys seem to be everywhere." The poem "The Sea" contrasts the serenity that the imagery of the sea evokes with death. The first sentences "strange flesh rains from the sky, strange flesh over the sea" are a metaphor for the gruesome military practice of dumping bodies onto the ocean from the sky. The juxtaposition of light and shadow, day and night, sunny and overcast days, is a direct allusion to life before and after military rule. Pieces of "cloudless days," the "sun," or in combination, "hundred loves that remained stuck in a sunny day," are devoured by ravenous fish below the waves.

The themes of lost hope, lost relationships, lost loved ones, and the loss of love, pervades the reading. The lyrical I touches its lover's fingers in "The Descent," evoking a practice perfected in torture centers such as Tres Alamos, wherein couples would be tortured together. Either the male would be savagely tortured to compel his partner to name collaborators or resistance plans, or the female would be equally savagely raped before the eyes of her partner for the same purpose. The purpose was as nefarious as the deed. The couples were repeatedly told that they were guilty for their lover's suffering. All they had to do was talk.

"My name, Akira Kurosawa," links the lyrical I's childhood memories, Pinochet's Punta de Lobos beach retreat, and postwar Germany, where the lyrical I dreams from the fourth floor of a house on "Storkwinkelstrasse" from the 1920s that survived the war. The word dreams is a cue to Kurosawa's 1990 Film Dreams, a suspicion that Zurita later confirms to me in a question. "Dream 129 to Kurosawa" must also be seen in a similar light. In the film, an array of Kurosawa's dreams, a discharged Japanese WWII officer encounters his dead troops from the war, who do not know they are dead yet. Chilean leftists saw their persecution in a direct line from the persecution that the left suffered under Fascism. Over 200,000 suffered exile, precisely in Germany, France, Austria, countries that had been the site of mass atrocities barely thirty years earlier. Zurita did not experience exile, but the memory of dictatorship is a collective one.

"Dream 213, for Kurosawa, the Sea" returns to the theme of bodies in the ocean, but deploys a far more graphic language than previous poems. "The sea was an endless plain of stomachs, and

> "His poetry recounts the loss of innocence of a twenty-two year young man thrust to the frontline of the Cold War."

torsos, and backs exhumed...while further over there following the curvature of the breakers, the cadavers rose folding themselves until appearing for a second, becoming transparent at the peak of the waves, to then break apart." The lyrical I's cry a the poem's end: "Kurosawa, this isn't a dream, this is the sea," can be interpreted as an act of defiance against the denier supporters of the Pinochet regime who then as now, maintain that the legacy of military rule ought not to be besmirched, and instead highlight the economic achievements.

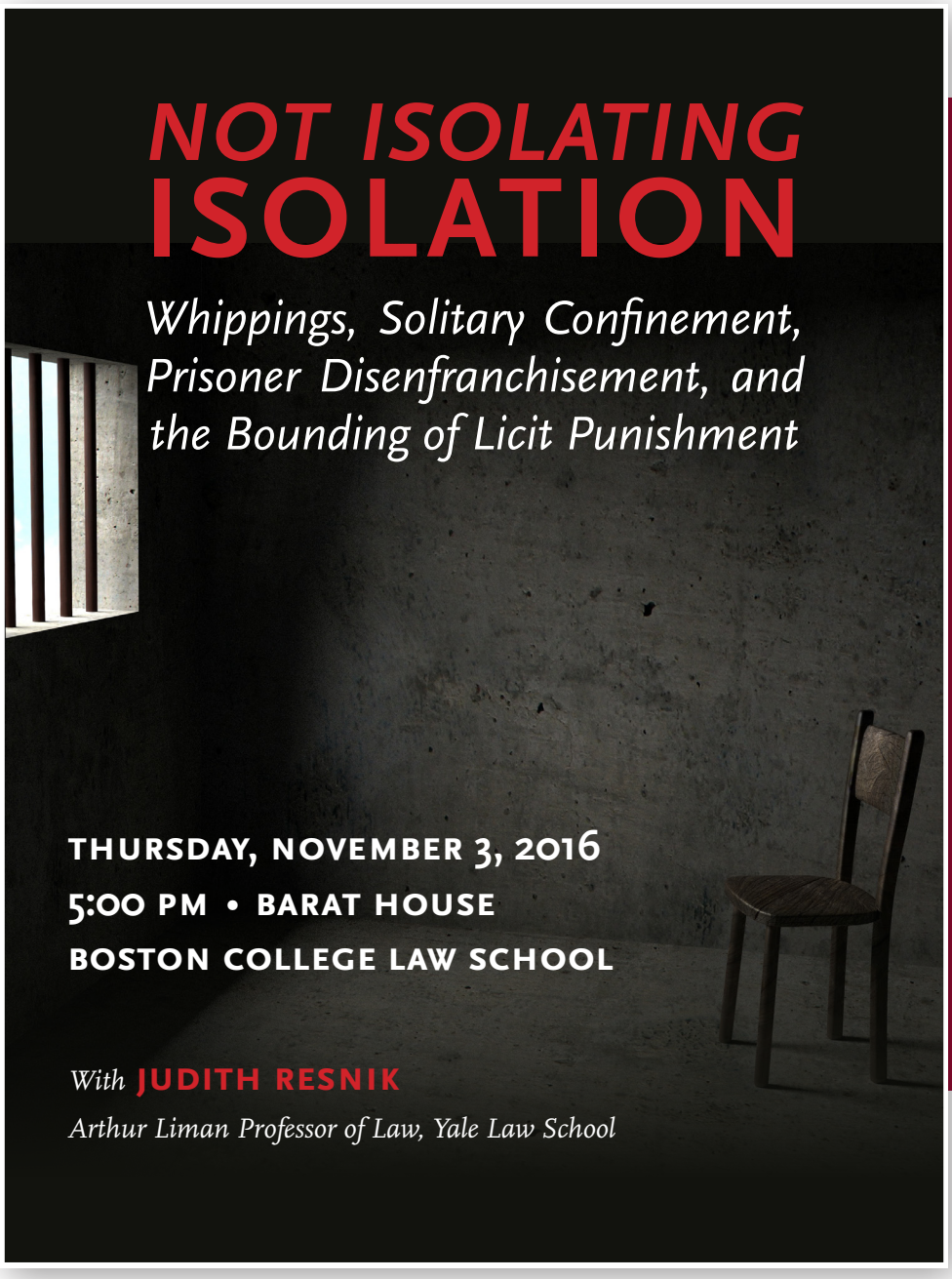
Indeed, historically death flights are usually associated with Argentina, not Chile. But they did occur, even though the evidentiary record is necessarily scant. Many of the estimated 1,200 Chileans still unaccounted for, are believed to have been dumped by military units into the sea. Zurita's poetry must be seen as a work to rescue the memory of atrocity from impunity and forgetting, in Chile and in abroad. His poem "For la paisa," is an ode to the work of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, the Argentinean mothers who marched every Thursday since 1977 to protest the disappearance of their sons and daughters, and the Association of the Disappeared detainees. After deploying a discourse that it had saved Chile from Marxism in the 1970s, the military regime changed its tune in the 1980s. With democratization on the horizon, the Junta worked towards erasing cleavages from the past and promoted a protected democracy with a firmly ensconced neoliberal capitalist system. The disappeared played no role in this plan. They were to be erased from memory. Chile's anti-regime civil society, Zurita's milieu in the late 1970s-80s, became a repository for these memories that were to be erased. Since the onset of constitutional democracy in 1990, and particularly after Pinochet's historic 1998 in London, the sites where military units tortured and murdered suspected leftists have resurfaced from oblivion, and become important lieu de memoire in contemporary Chile.

About the Panelists

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

RAÚL ZURITA is one of Latin America's most celebrated and controversial poets. After Augusto Pinochet's 1973 US-supported military coup that ousted Salvador Allende's democratically elected government, Zurita's poetry sought to register the violence and atrocities committed against the Chilean people, as well as the corruption of the Spanish language. During the dictatorship (1973 to 1990), Zurita helped form the art collective, "Colectivo de Accion de Arte," using performance as an act of political resistance. From 1973 to 1990, he also published a trilogy of books titled *Purgatory*, *Anteparadise*, and *The New Life*. Zurita was awarded the Chilean National Prize for Literature, a scholarship from Guggeheim Foundation, and he has held poetry readings at numerous American universities including: Harvard, Yale, Stanford, and Berkeley.

ANNA DEENY MORALES is a literary critic and translator. Her translations of Raúl Zurita's works include *Purgatory* (2009), *Dreams for Kurosawa* (2011), and *Sky Below*, a volume of selected poems recently published by Northwestern University Press. Her translation of *Floating Lanterns* by Mercedes Roffé was published by Shearsman Press in 2015. Deeny's essays and translations of poetry by Alejandra Pizarnik, Nicanor Parra, Gabriela Mistral, Amanda Berenguer, Marosa di Giorgio, Malú Urriola, among others, have appeared in "Pinholes in the Night: Essential Poems from Latin America", *The Paris Review*, *Mandorla, BOMB* and *The Harvard Review*. Deeny received her doctoral degree from the University of California, Berkeley, and teaches in the Center for Latin American Studies at Georgetown University. Her book manuscript, *Other Solitudes*, considers transamerican dialogues on consciousness and poetry.



Prison isn't exactly the type of place most of us like to think about every day. Let alone solitary confinement—the practice of putting prisoners in a small windowless concrete room with no human contact for 23 hours a day, every day, indefinitely. However, Professor Judith Resnik in a recent talk as part of Boston College's Clough Distinguished Lectures in Jurisprudence series, challenged us to stop and think about exactly that, to take a step away from our comfortable lives and think about the 80,000–100,000 prisoners in the United States who are currently in solitary confinement.

While Resnik, the Arthur Liman Professor of Law at Yale Law School, has written and spoken about numerous areas of the law, she has recently turned her attention to the problem of prisons and punishment. In her talk, "Not Isolating Isolation: Whippings, Solitary Confinement, Prisoner Disenfranchisement, and the Bounding of Licit Punishment," she examined the question of what the relationship is between the conditions of confinement in prison and punishment itself.

She began with a walk through the history of prisons and punishment, from the litigation over prisoner's rights in southern plantation prisons to the Attica uprising in New York in the 1970s to modern day prisons and solitary confinement. The common thread throughout this history, she said, was that the courts saw prisons are an implementation for punishment and

not as punishment itself. As such, the law's role was to regulate the type of punishment that prisons enforced.

Part of Resnik's interest in the area stemmed from what she has labeled one of the "worst Supreme Court decisions," Wilkinson v. Austin. In Wilkinson, Justice Anthony Kennedy wrote an opinion for the Court that seemingly endorsed the use of solitary confinement in the prison context. In that decision, the Court held that a prisoner's private liberty interest in not being held in solitary confinement must be viewed in light of the fact that they were already in prison. In other words, the Court had started from the fact that the prisoner's liberty was already curtailed by virtue of imprisonment and then reasoned that solitary confinement, in comparison to prison in general, was not such a great leap as it would be for a non-incarcerated person.

The problem with this logic, Resnik argued, was that prisons shouldn't be the norm or starting point in considering a person's liberty. Instead, prisons should themselves be looked at as a type of punishment.

She turned towards Europe as an example where this type of thought was taking place. The European Court of Human Rights had recently ruled that since prisoners are people, the burden must be on the state to justify taking away some liberty. In other words, we shouldn't be looking at prisons as typical and then seeing what is atypical compared to that, but the other way around. Under this theory, our view of prisons as vehicles for the administration of punishment would change instead to viewing prisons as a type of punishment themselves.

> "The common thread throughout this history, she said, was that the courts saw prisons are an implementation for punishment and not as punishment itself. As such, the law's role was to regulate the type of punishment that prisons enforced."

While the Wilkinson decision was disheartening to many in the prison reform scholarship, Resnik concluded her lecture with some hope for the future. She had argued that much of the change in prison reform over the last 60 years had come through not just legal changes, but also social and cultural ones. It seems that the same is happening today: Congress has recently proposed legislation to limit what solitary confinement may entail and President Obama has also turned his attention to the issue.

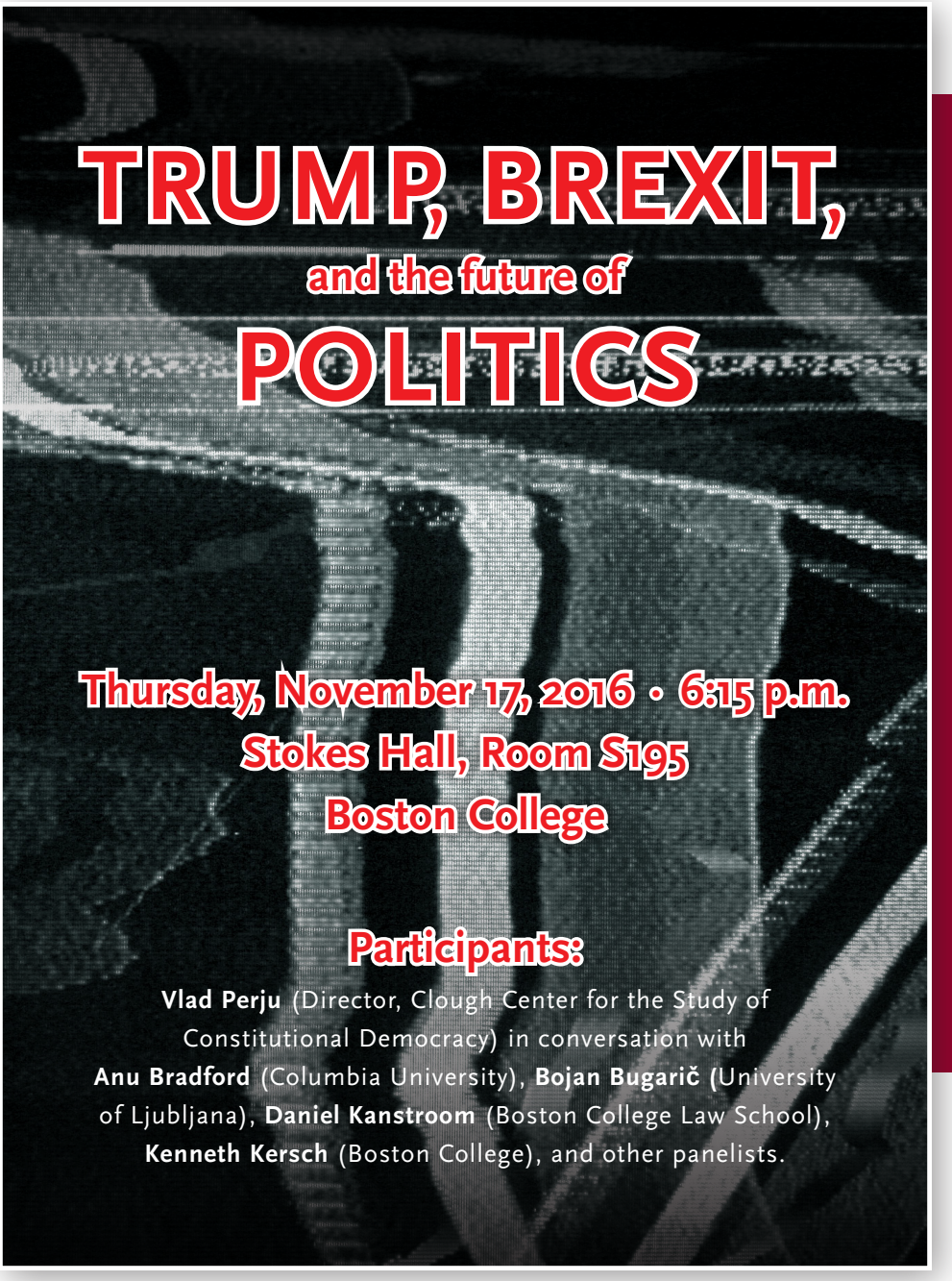
Another convert? Justice Kennedy, the one who wrote the "terrible" 2005 Wilkinson opinion that legalized solitary confinement, Resnik said. He recently commented in a concurring opinion in a 2015 case (Davis v. Ayala) that maybe the Court might need to take a second look at the constitutionality of solitary confinement.

About Judith Resnik

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Judith Resnik is the Arthur Liman Professor of Law at Yale Law School, where she teaches about federalism, procedure, courts, prisons, equality, citizenship, feminism, and local and global interventions to diminish inequalities and subordination. She currently chairs the Law School's Global Constitutionalism Seminar and is the editor of its yearly books. Her other books include *Representing Justice: Invention, Controversy, and Rights in City-States and Democratic Courtrooms* (with Dennis Curtis, 2011), and *Migrations and Mobilities: Citizenship, Borders, and Gender* (co-edited with Seyla Benhabib, 2009). Professor Resnik is the founding director of the Arthur Liman Program, supporting fellowships for law graduates and summer fellowships at several colleges, and sponsoring classes and colloquia on the civil and criminal justice systems. In 2015, the Liman Program joined with the Association of State Correctional Administrators in co-authoring *Time-in- Cell: The Liman-ASCA 2014 National Survey of Administrative Segregation in Prison*, providing data on the 80,000-100,000 people in isolation in U.S. prisons in 2014. In 2015, she was a visiting professor at Université Panthéon-Assas Paris II, and she also holds a term appointment as an Honorary Professor, Faculty of Laws, University College London.

In 1998, Professor Resnik was the recipient of the Margaret Brent Women Lawyers of Achievement Award from the Commission on Women of the American Bar Association. In 2001, she was elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and in 2002, a member of the American Philosophical Society, where she delivered the Henry LaBarre Jayne Lecture in 2005. In 2008, Professor Resnik received the Outstanding Scholar of the Year Award from the Fellows of the American Bar Foundation. In 2010, she was named a recipient of the Elizabeth Hurlock Beckman Prize, awarded to outstanding faculty in higher education in the fields of psychology or law. In 2013, Professor Resnik was given the Arabella Babb Mansfield Award, the highest honor presented by the National Association of Women Lawyers. Her book, *Representing Justice*, has won several awards, including the 2014 Order of the Coif Award for its outstanding contribution to legal scholarship.



Nearly fifty years ago, Susan Sontag captured one of the most confounding aspects of the logic of American liberalism. There is an immense attraction to seeing the world as of boundless individual opportunity, where, in the absence of strict distinctions of class, race, and place, all are free to succeed. The converse, Sontag noted, was that everyone is also free to fail, and if everyone can succeed, and you don't, there's a reason: either you are unworthy of success, or the system has in fact been rigged against people like you.

This is a constant theme in American politics, says Ken Kersch, Professor of American politics at BC. Liberalism and capitalism have always been disruptive and dislocative, especially in the United States. In the late 19th century rural Americans united against the ravages of Gilded Age capitalism on their way of life, blaming not just greedy industrialists and Wall Street bankers but also immigrants and other social and cultural outsiders. The idea of a government captured by elites and rigged against ordinary folks was at the center of the 1892 Populist Party platform: "We seek to restore the government of the Republic to the hands of the 'plain people.'"

After two decades of left-leaning reforms led by Democrats, in the 1950s populism began to move right. This is where the

modern Republican Party began, Kersch explains. In 1964 Barry Goldwater rode that tide to his party's presidential nomination, promising to take the country back from the autocratic social progressivism of the New Deal.

There was one more novel element of the new conservative populism: an appeal to restoring the Constitution and the rule of law, which, they charged, progressives had thrown away. From the national political rise of Ronald Reagan in the late 1970s to the Tea Party after 2008, this idea has been central to modern American conservatives' rhetoric and electoral strategy. When a candidate speaks of "restoring the Constitution," nine times out of ten that speaker is a Republican.

Still, Trump is a new phenomenon. Trump said almost nothing about the Constitution during the election, Kersch noted, or what kind of values he promised to restore. "Americans were left with the betrayal," he explains, "without the ideas betrayed." This is why he believes the Democrats have an opportunity. If they are going to have a "good story" to beat Republicans, they cannot just continue to serve their interest groups in blue states. In short, they must appeal to Americans' constitutional nationalism and link it with their own project, or else the Constitution—what it means, how it's used—will be defined by conservative Republicans.

But what about the "rule of law," an obviously charged term that Trump—like Nixon in 1968—referred to repeatedly? We should be worried, says BC Law Professor Daniel Kanstroom. Trump has shown himself to be profoundly uncommitted to civil rights or law, "except in an instrumental sense." The best case, Kanstroom believes, is that he is a "profoundly cynical pragmatist." Indeed, this was Obama's hope; while standing behind his prior statements, Obama said after meeting with the President-elect that "ultimately he's pragmatic."

However, there is a relationship between Trump's type of politics and civil rights. "It is now clear that we will face a brutal assault on the rights of noncitizens through the expansion of an already oppressive deportation system," Kanstroom insists. Invoking Hannah Arendt's insights into totalitarianism, he says that the rights of noncitizens cannot be separated from our own. This goes beyond Thomas Jefferson's warning of the Alien and Sedition Acts: that once a government strips noncitizens of rights, "the citizen will soon follow." Noncitizens—refugees, migrants, asylum seekers—have always been an essential part of our polity, their rights a mediating tension between authoritarian power and the rule of law. "Through their protection we discover richer and better ideas of the polity itself," Kanstroom says. "This is what law, justice, and fairness should be about."

Of course, America is not the only democracy experiencing a resurgence of nationalist politics. The postwar international order took a big hit with Britain's decision to leave the European Union, which it had joined during another time of crisis for developed countries, the 1970s. That time, internationalists in the U.S. and Western Europe worked together to defend and adapt the system's liberal principles.

A repeat is not likely. The Trump and Brexit crises come in the wake of multiple others, explains Anu Bradford, Henry L. Moses Professor of Law at Columbia University. The financial crisis, refugee crisis, terrorist attacks, Russian aggression—there were already so many cracks in the system before Brexit and now, Trump. "It is hard to see it as anything but an existential crisis for Europe," she says.

There are a few things we can expect with Trump. First, his election brings enormous uncertainty to Europe's economic fate. Current U.S.-EU negotiations on a major trade treaty are dead, Bradford predicts, and Trump's comments on NATO remove the security guarantee Europeans have expected since 1947. Nor is it certain that Trump will continue joint sanctions against Russia—or participate meaningfully in any conflict that requires sustained international cooperation, such as Iran's nuclear program or Chinese military aggression in the South China Sea.

There are a number of things Europe should, but either won't or can't, do, Bradford says, such as pro-growth economic reforms, addressing immigration, and building an independent military capacity. Yet, she confesses that lately she has been finding solace in an unattributed quote: "The devil whispered in my ear, you are not strong enough for the storm. Today, I whispered in the devil's ear, I am the storm."

This reminded Bojan Bugarič of another saying: "For Eastern Europeans, optimism is a contradiction in terms." Bugarič, Professor of Law at University of Ljubljana, finds a parallel with the rise of right-wing nationalist governments in Hungary and Poland prior to the 2008 crisis. Then, commentators blamed the strongman legacy of Communist rule, but their combination of conservative nationalism and social redistribution is now the standard far right platform across Europe.

So who is voting for these parties? Some say they are part of a decades-long backlash against multiculturalism, but Bugarič says we are missing the big picture. Twenty to thirty years ago, he explains, those voters used to go for social democrats and leftist parties. Yet both the center-left and center-right have failed to offer adequate responses to the economic dislocations wrought by globalization and neoliberal state-cutting. The key reason for the success of liberalism in its postwar Golden Age was those parties' shared commitment to redistribution. "We have to address the questions of why people voted for these parties," Bugarič emphasizes. We also cannot simply try to isolate them, as others have suggested. "Authoritarian governments don't turn into democratic ones through sanctions."

Bugarič made a comparison to the 1930s, but the 1970s might in fact be more instructive. Elites in the U.S. and Western Europe were painfully aware of the "crisis of legitimacy" in their countries, and some believed it was necessary to explain how the world had changed, and with it, what kind of economic security their citizens could expect. President Jimmy Carter went the farthest, warning Americans about the end of cheap energy and working closely on trade with rising manufacturing competitors like Japan and South Korea.

We all know what happened: Carter's "malaise" speech was routinely mocked, and in 1980 his approval rating was lower than Nixon's during Watergate. He was replaced by Ronald Reagan, for whom the term "Reagan Democrats" was coined to describe the working class whites in the Rust Belt who abandoned the Democratic Party after nearly 50 years of uninterrupted support.

It was Reagan who first used "Make America Great Again" as a campaign slogan, but neither he nor Trump told the truth: those manufacturing jobs will not be coming back. Nor did the "triangulation" approach—shared by Bill Clinton and Tony Blair, a fitting replacement for the Reagan-Thatcher partnership—trickle down as much as promised.

What center-left and center-right parties in the Western democracies lack most is a convincing vision. Instead of conceiving a new future, they promise an impossible return to the past. They need to be honest with voters: neither the Democrats nor the Republicans can bring these jobs "back"; global capital has no use for nostalgia. It is fitting that Bugarič reminded us of a great quote from David Ben-Gurion, a man with a vision par excellence: "In order to be a realist, one has to be a visionary first."

About the Panelists

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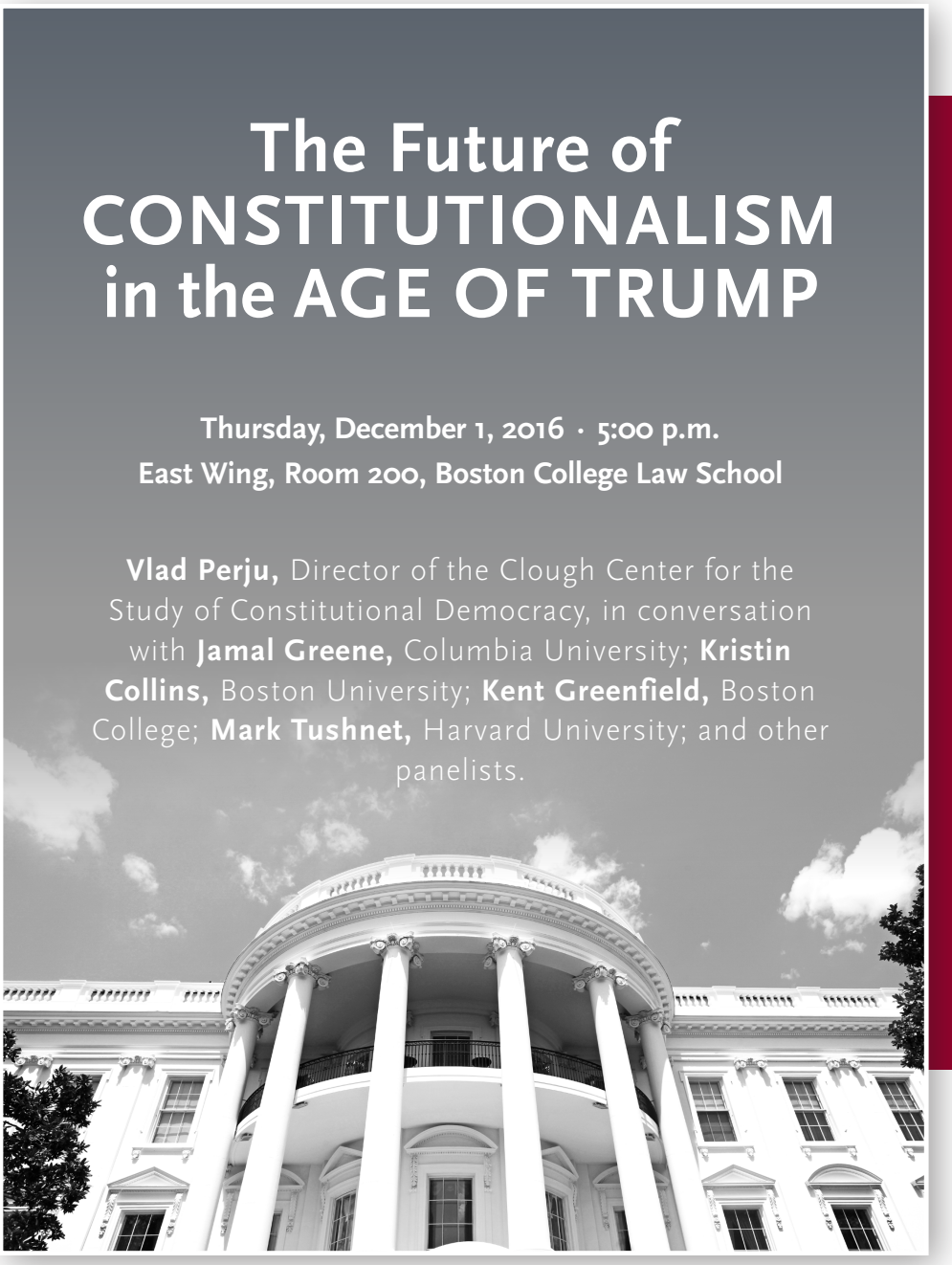
ANU BRADFORD is the Henry L. Moses Professor of Law and International Organization at Columbia Law School. She is also a Director of the European Legal Studies Center. Her research and teaching focus on international trade law, European Union law, and comparative and international antitrust law. Before joining the Law School faculty in 2012, she was an assistant professor at the University of Chicago Law School. She has also taught at Harvard College, Brandeis University, and the University of Helsinki. Bradford earned her S.J.D. degree in 2007 and LL.M. degree in 2002 from Harvard Law School, and also holds a law degree from the University of Helsinki. After completing her LL.M. studies as a Fulbright Scholar at Harvard Law School, Bradford practiced antitrust law and EU law at Cleary Gottlieb Steen & Hamilton in Brussels for two years before returning to Harvard for her doctoral studies. She has also served as an adviser on economic policy in the Parliament of Finland and as an expert assistant to a member of the European Parliament. In 2010, the World Economic Forum named Bradford a Young Global Leader.

BOJAN BUGARIČ, an Associate Professor of Law at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, has published numerous articles on comparative constitutional law, comparative administrative law, European Union Law and law and development. His most recent publications include an article called L*aw and Development in Central and Eastern Europe: Neoliberal Development State and its Problems* published by Cambridge University Press. Bugarič is a visiting scholar at the Center for European Studies, working on his book project *Authoritarianism versus Democracy in Post Communist Europe*. The book will examine why constitutional democracies in Central and Eastern Europe struggle to maintain the rule of law as they face the challenges of the Euro crisis. His work will examine what makes institutions in Western democracies more resilient. Bugarič served as Deputy Minister at the Ministry of the Interior in the Slovenian government from 2000-2004. He was a Fulbright Visiting Professor at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), in 1998. He holds a Doctor of Juridical Science degree from the University of Wisconsin-Madison and a Masters of Law from UCLA.

DANIEL KANSTROOM is Professor of Law and Thomas F. Carney Distinguished Scholar at Boston College Law School, where he teaches Immigration and Refugee Law, International Human Rights Law, Constitutional Law, and Administrative Law. He is co-director of the Center for Human Rights and International Justice and co-founder of the Post-Deportation Human Rights Project, which seeks to conceptualize and develop a new field of law while representing US deportees abroad. He founded the Boston College Immigration and Asylum clinic in which students represent indigent migrants and asylum-seekers. Together with his students, he has provided counsel for hundreds of clients, won dozens of immigration and asylum cases, and authored amicus briefs for the U.S. Supreme Court and other courts in immigration and human rights cases.

Professor Kanstroom has published widely in the fields of U.S. immigration law, human rights, criminal law, and European citizenship and asylum law. He is the author of *Aftermath: Deportation Law and the New American Diaspora* (Oxford University Press 2012) and *Deportation Nation: Outsiders in American History* (Harvard University Press 2007). His most recent edited book, with psychologist M. Brinton Lykes, is *The New Deportations Delirium: Interdisciplinary Responses* (NYU Press 2015). He is also the co-editor, with sociologist Cecilia Menjivar, of *Constructing Illegality* (Cambridge University Press 2013). His articles, book reviews and op-eds have appeared in such venues as the *Harvard Law Review, the Yale Journal of International Law, the UCLA Law Review, the New York Times, the Washington Post,* and the *French Gazette du Palais*. Professor Kanstroom has taught at many universities including The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, American University, the University of Paris, Northeastern School of Law, King's College, London, the University of Hawaii, and Vermont Law School. He was a member of the national Immigration Commission of the American Bar Association.

KEN KERSCH is professor of political science, with additional appointments in the university's history department and law school. His primary interests are American political and constitutional development, American political thought, and the politics of courts. Kersch is the recipient of the American Political Science Association's Edward S. Corwin Award (2000), the J. David Greenstone Prize (2006) from APSA's politics and history section, and the Hughes-Gossett Award from the Supreme Court Historical Society (2006). Professor Kersch has published many articles in academic, intellectual, and popular journals. He is the author of *The Supreme Court and American Political Development* (Kansas, 2006) (with Ronald Kahn), *Constructing Civil Liberties: Discontinuities in the Development of American Constitutional Law* (Cambridge, 2004), and *Freedom of Speech: Rights and Liberties Under the Law* (ABC-Clio, 2003). He is currently completing a book entitled *Conservatives and the Constitution: From Brown to Reagan* (Cambridge University Press). Professor Kersch is member of the bar of New York, Massachusetts, and the District of Columbia. He received his B.A. (magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa) from Williams College, his J.D. (cum laude and Order of the Coif) from Northwestern University, and his Ph.D. in government from Cornell University. Kersch has been a visiting professor at Harvard University (2008) and Bowdoin College (2015). From 2008 – 2012, he was Founding Director of the BC's Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy. Prior to coming to Boston, Kersch was the inaugural Ann and Herbert W. Vaughan Fellow in the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions (2001-2002), faculty associate in the Madison Program and the Program in Law and Public Affairs (LAPA), and assistant professor of politics (2003-2007) at Princeton University.



Mark Tushnet from Harvard University spoke about the possibilities of an illiberal constitutional regime that could come into being with the new administration. He emphasized that it is not a prediction, but "possibilities of that occurring are larger than months ago." Under this illiberal constitutionalism, the inherent equality of all persons would not longer be respected. The rights of foreigners and migrants, in particular, would be at jeopardy. Consequently, Tushnet theorized that the new administration might create a dual state system, whereby full citizens can enjoy the provisions of liberal constitutionalism, while everyone else would be subjected to second-class status. But the line between full and second status membership would be unclear and subject to revision and contestation. In such a system, there would be a graduated scale for the protection of liberal constitutional rights, due process rights, free speech, etc. In this system, the rights of full members to interact with others might be limited. In that sense, full membership would not insulate anyone from having his or her rights infringed upon.

Kristin Collins from Boston University, argued that there was already a structure of illiberal legislation that Trump could utilize to expand his powers. Under the plenary power doctrine, which gives the legislative and executive sole power in immi-

gration matters, the new administration could undo much of the advances since the Civil Rights Act of 1965 that ended the racial quota system for migrants. Trump will use the same tools already in existence for more explicitly illiberal aims. He has threatened to bring back race-based exclusion, and the courts will be unable to stop it. There are already laws passed after 9/11 that explicitly discriminate against the entry of Arab males. The new administration could comfortably expand on this legislation. Collins argues that the push for sanctuary cities, that is, devolving the issue to the states, is not going to be the solution. Where the new administration will find difficulties is in mass deportation. "We simply don't have the machinery for this kind of policy," but Collins surmises that the new government will enable vigilantes from engaging in racial intimidation, which will presumably drive many migrants away. "The constitutional culture that [might develop] is one of fear and vigilantism." Collins concluded her talk by pointing to the real possibility that the new administration will pass legislation that masks its actual intentions, so that it might be difficult to gauge its actual intention. Moreover, it might pass laws to revise birthright citizenship and move away from jus soli towards ethnic-based conceptions of citizenship.

Jamal Greene also prefaced his talk by pointing to the fact that it is not a prediction, but a possibility. Since WWII, he argued, Americans have thought of their constitution and democracy as very stable. With Trump's election, this notion has been put under a level of pressure unseen since the Civil War. He argued that the constitution has many deficiencies that have become apparent with Trump's election. After listing the president-elect's many flaws, which he demonstrated throughout the election cycle, Greene points to the modern information age as the reason why he still got elected. The Constitution is not well equipped for the modern information age. It does not have any provisions for fact-manipulation the likes this election witnessed. Twitter and Facebook, but also the liberal and right media, feed an internal loop divorced from different perspectives. For Trump truth does not matter. What matters only is how his actions are perceived, regardless of whether they are accurate. The constitution does not have a check for the manipulation of opinions. And since much of the President's power is based on powers of convention, that are not explicitly articulated anywhere, Trump's administration opens up possibilities for abuse that have not been a problem with a prior president. The possibilities to resist executive abuse are dim because Trump's party controls the Congress. While the state bureaucracy might be able to resist somewhat, we should not be sanguine about their abilities. Greene did not mention popular movement's ability to resist the president's most onerous measures, but merely pointed to the possibility that there could be an internal revolt in the Republican Party to unseat Trump. For Greene, this election is an existential threat to our constitutional order, and warrants a parallel to Weimar

Germany. The Weimar Constitution was lauded as the most liberal in the 1920s, and only with Hitler's rise did its deficiencies become apparent. Article 48 and its emergency powers proved to be a major flaw. Greene argued that we must look at defects within our own constitution or institutional process that might be deeply flawed. One of them might be the "winner takes all system" of elections that has prevented other political opinions to make their claims heard.

Finally, Kent Greenfield from Boston College Law School called the election "the most seismic event of my lifetime." Trump is unlike other conservatives. Greenfield named Antonin Scalia and Robert Bork, whose views were objectionable from his standpoint but who were still committed to coherence and constitutional mainstream views. "Trump does not show any deep thinking of any kind, much less about the constitution," Greenfield stated, which is a major problem because he will have to make important decisions while in office. Worse, "he does not know that he does not know." Greenfield echoed Green's fears about a Trump presidency that does not care about the true facts. Trump's instincts are profoundly anti-Constitutional, deriving from his authoritarian and power-loving proclivities. Therefore, for Greenfield, citizens need to be vigilant, take Trump at his word, and be prepared that these new conditions will entail suffering. Americans need to move from their pathological optimism and realize that the arc of justice has just turned dramatically away from us. We ought to "fly the flag upside down."

Commenters questioned the soundness of a program of total resistance because authoritarians rely on resistance to carry out anti-democratic acts. It sets up the opportunity in the first place. Greene's reply was that those opposing Trump needed to articulate their values in a non-partisan way, and seek common cause with previous opponents, including republicans unhappy with Trump. Tushnet disputed, however, that there was much of a rift between Republicans and Trump. Counting on Republicans to obstruct the new agenda is misguided. Greenfield added that because Trump does not have a coherent vision like Reagan, he will not have a long legacy and that his own failings might bring him down. Some commenters were skeptical about what they perceived as Greenfield's underestimation of Trump. One commenter explained that Trump" simply understood that what he was doing was not on a plain above entertainment." He marketed himself, "the way Disney markets himself. And he was right… He's proven himself right over and over." "I don't put any faith in the supreme court and constitutional law," because as a deeply reactionary institution for most of his history, [the court] "was never going to help us and is not going to help us now." Other pointed to the fact that we should not be talking about Trump, but about his 60 million voters. Collins pointed to the existence of a völkisch strain in the American electorate that flocked to Trump's banner primarily because of the racism and nationalism. Asked about whether protestors will be safe under the new administration, all speakers agreed that the largest threat came from the right-wing vigilantes, which Tushnet compared to Nazi brownshirt fascist squads. Greene commented that as long as protests keep to the big cities, controlled as they are by Trump's political foes, confrontation might be avoided, but if they turn violence there will be repression. Inquired whether constitutional reform would fix the constitution's problems, all speakers said that the political situation made it impossible to reform the constitution. Moreover, Tushnet said that the failure to communicate would not be solved by altering constitutional tools. All panel speakers also responded to the question of whether the election will affect their research agendas in a significant way with no, but rather, that they are spurned to continue their current research agendas.

About the Panelists

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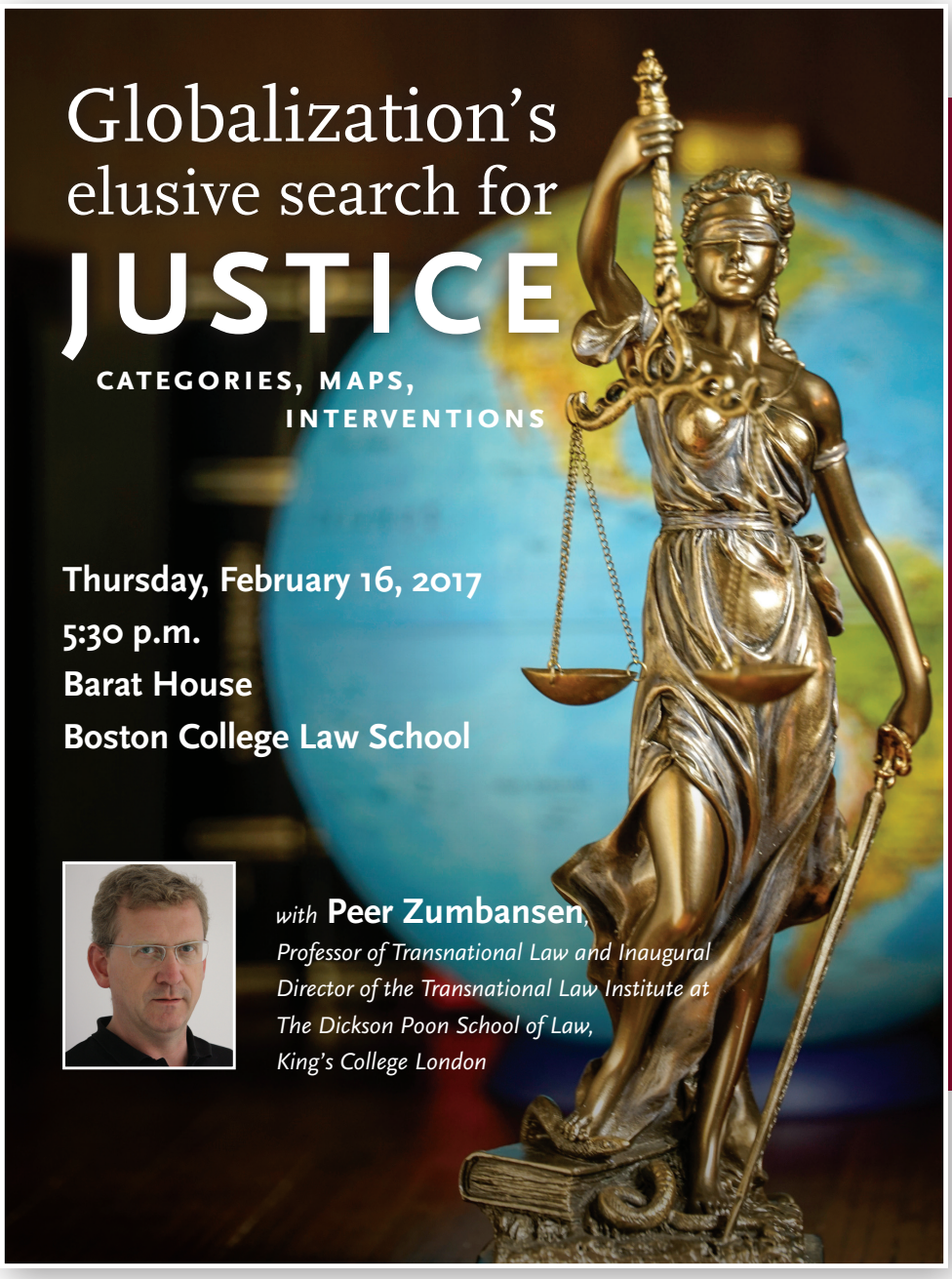
JAMAL GREENE is a Vice Dean and Dwight Professor of Law at Columbia Law School. His area of expertise is constitutional jurisprudence and his teaching and research interests include Constitutional Law, Constitutional Theory, the First Amendment, Federal Courts, and Comparative Constitutional Law. Prior to joining the Law School faculty in 2008, Professor Greene was a law clerk to Judge Guido Calabresi, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, from 2005 to 2006 and a law clerk to Justice John Paul Stevens, Supreme Court of the United States, from 2006 to 2007.

KRISTIN COLLINS joined the faculty of Boston University School of Law in 2006. Her primary research and teaching interests are in the fields of civil procedure, citizenship law, family law, and legal history. Her work has appeared in the *Yale Law Journal, Duke Law Journal,Vanderbilt Law Review,* and *Law and History Review*, among others. In the fall of 2012, she held a National Endowment for the Humanities Long-Term Fellowship at the Massachusetts Historical Society, where her research focused on the role of family law in the administration and development of American citizenship and immigration law. In 2013-2014, Professor Collins was the Sidley Austin-Robert D. McLean Visiting Professor of Law at Yale Law School. Following graduation from Yale Law School in 2000, Professor Collins served as a senior fellow at the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) in Cape Town, where she conducted research on the South African Judiciary and, specifically, the enforcement of constitutional norms in South Africa's courts. She clerked for Chief Judge John Walker, US Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, and Judge Kimba Wood, US District Court for the Southern District of New York. Following her clerkships she practiced law with a civil rights law firm in New York City.

KENT GREENFIELD is Professor of Law and Law Fund Research Scholar at Boston College Law School, where he teaches and writes in the areas of business law, constitutional law, decision making theory, legal theory, and economic analysis of law. He is the past Chair of the Section on Business Associations of the American Association of Law Schools. In addition, he is the author of the book *The Myth of Choice*, published in 2011 from Yale University Press, Prunsoop Publishing (in Korean), and BiteBack Publishing (UK). Kirkus Reviews stated in its review: "The author deftly debunks prevailing dogma about the infallibility of free markets, especially important during a time when, as he reports, one in seven Americans are poor." He is also the author of the book *The Failure of Corporate Law* published by University of Chicago Press. The book has been called "simply the best and most well-reasoned progressive critique of corporate law yet written," and the Law and Politics Book Review said that "it merits a place alongside Berle and Means, [and] Easterbrook and Fischel."

MARK TUSHNET graduated from Harvard College and Yale Law School and served as a law clerk to Justice Thurgood Marshall, specializes in constitutional law and theory, including comparative constitutional law. His research includes studies examining (skeptically) the practice of judicial review in the United States and around the world. He also writes in the area of legal and particularly constitutional history, with works on the development of civil rights law in the United States and (currently) a long-term project on the history of the Supreme Court in the 1930s.



What is transnational law? How do we define law in an emerging global world? These are the types of questions that Professor Peer Zumbansen, a leading global law theorist at King's College in London, Dickson Pool School of Law, spoke about in his talk, "Globalization's Elusive Search for Justice: Categories, Maps, Interventions."

The February 16 lecture, sponsored by the Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy and held at BC Law, focused on defending a critical concept of law's globalization based on a close analysis of the parallels between "global" and "domestic/local" governance. Zumbansen explored how we might save law from globalization's "hegemonizing" effect by turning to the study of emerging actors, norms, and processes.

For Zumbansen, justice is a large part of this answer, but determining how justice applies in the law is challenging when faced with not just a pluralistic society but also a pluralistic global world. He noted that many modern-day theories emerged from this struggle, including critical race theory and global constitutional law, and said that taking these theories and applying them to the real world was (and is) critical to answering today's global legal questions.

This is where transnational law comes in, Zumbansen explained, because it provides the bridge between our domestic experience of law and the "global diffusion of norms and rearrangement of actors and processes." In answering questions about the nature and purpose of law, transnational law shines a "critical lens" on which to address law's functionalism. The turning point was the Nuremberg trials, he said, which "set forth a new beginning" in our understanding of global law and its relation to justice. But the first question to ask is what exactly is transnational law? Is it just the amalgamation of private agreements between corporations and public treaties between nations? Or is it something more?

In Zumbansen's view, transnational law is more about a process than an answer; it should be approached from the familiar (analogies, frictions, and concerns) as well as from the outside (displacing law by not taking it for granted). To understand the law, we need to understand its foundations, he said, and transnational law asks us to think creatively about these foundations. Does law's legitimacy come from Parliament? Or also from the G20? Rio+20? Or the Paris Conference? He described transnational law's three motivating factors as: 1) global problem solving; 2) overarching conceptions of justice; and 3) social ordering forms.

Zumbansen next turned to the relationship between traditional law and modern or transnational law. Traditionally, the situs of law is the State itself. Defining a state is a difficult task, though—is it the historical experience, the endorsed memory of a people, or the normative appreciation of the necessity of the state? Nevertheless, the foundations of a state can help us in this definition, he said. These foundations include actors, norms, and processes. For a traditional state, the actors would include people and government, norms defined by laws and treaties, and processes that include executive orders and presidential pardons. Zumbansen contrasted these traditional norms with modern day and transnational law norms. Today, actors include states, corporations, and NGOs; norms include laws, treaties, codes, and accords; and the processes include democracy, problem fixing, and paradigm changes. Transnational law helps to bridge this gap so that law can both reflect and react to modern sociological conditions.

To bring all of this back to the real world, Zumbansen looked at a problem and how transnational law helps to solve it. He offered the current FIFA football scandal concerning migrant workers in Qatari. Transnational law helps us to frame and think critically not necessarily about the right answer to these questions, but how to think critically about approaching the problem—in other words, by asking things like, what law do we apply to these workers? Qatari law? International law? FIFA law? International agreements? Considering all of the variables and differing ideas and theories is the only way to accurately get to the right and just result, he said.

Zumbansen said that the way to this solution begins in law school. Looking at the shifts in law—from concrete forms to experiments; government to governance; from municipal to global; and from enforcement to disclosure—is only possible with a critical transnational legal mind.

Instead of having students take a "transnational law" class, he said, professors should include these issues in basic and core classes. For example, he believes you can't teach criminal law in today's world without speaking about 9/11 and the war on terror. You can't teach corporations without looking at how corporations are expanding in the global world.

As the law becomes more global, he concluded, we need to think critically about including, throughout the curriculum, ideas that transnational law has taught us.

About the Peer Zumbansen

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Peer Zumbansen is, since 2014, Professor of Transnational Law and inaugural Director of the Transnational Law Institute at King's College London, The Dickson Poon School of Law, and the founding convener of the Transnational Law LL.M. Pathway. Educated in Frankfurt, Paris and Harvard, he held a Canada Research Chair at Osgoode Hall Law School in Toronto from 2004 until 2014. At Osgoode he founded and directed the Critical Research Laboratory in Law & Society, and served as Associate Dean of Research, Graduate Studies and International Relations. His research focuses on corporate governance, private law theory, comparative and transnational law, European private law and legal education. A recipient of a two teaching awards in Canada and the 2015-2016 Excellence in Teaching Innovation award at King's College, he has held visiting professorships at Osgoode Hall, the Universities of Idaho, Bremen, Bilbao, Oñati, Lucerne, St. Gallen, UCD Dublin, Javeriana (Bogotá), Melbourne, Hamburg, Sherbrooke (Quebec), Católica (Lisbon), Paris Dauphine, and Yale Law School. In the summer of 2013, he was the inaugural Chair in Global Law at Tilburg Law School and, in autumn of 2013, Senior Research Scholar at Michigan Law School. In March 2017 he will teach at FGV São Paulo in Brazil.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY MICHAEL HARDT

"Love of the People"

Few had foreseen the political events of 2016, but many have since attempted to explain them. Dr. Michael Hardt, who spoke at "The Territory of 'a People': Questioning Community" conference on March 2, has for about a decade thought and written about how love is central to populist movements, like the ones of 2016 that led citizens of the United Kingdom to vote 'leave', and the unforeseen election of Donald Trump as president of the United States.

Love, Dr. Hardt said in his talk, is in many ways a "fount of evil" that drives on political groups of hate and destruction, including fascists, racists, and religious fundamentalists. While Nazis do hate Jews, and white supremacists hate people of color, and self-proclaimed defenders of Christian Europe hate Muslim immigrants, members of these groups first and foremost love their own. The hate, Hardt argued, is secondary to the intense love of sameness. To understand the rise of Nazi Germany, for example, Hardt suggests one looks to Wilhelm Reich's writing on the mass psychology of fascism. Germans, the majority of them anyways, were not duped by the Nazis, instead they truly desired to be ruled by them.

One proposed solution to the evil that love brings about, Dr. Hardt said, is to ban love from politics. Drawing on Jewish American political theorist Hannah Arendt, he asked the audience to consider that if self-love really is the root of evil, then perhaps its destructive force should be kept within the personal domain, and outside of campaigns and public life, as Arendt once proposed?

Efforts to ban the passions of love from anything are likely to fail, said Dr. Hardt, because "people do not and probably cannot check at the door their passions and powers of love when they enter the political sphere." Even if it were possible, he added, "banishing love would deprive political life of its central animating force" and thereby impair progression. The "powerful and lasting bonds", and "profound subjective transformation[s]" that drive people onto destructive paths in the name of self-love can also, as Dr. Martin Luther King said, dispel hatred and cast out fear. Hating one's enemies is painful, it distorts and obstructs political actions and desires, while love and forgiveness frees one from the obstacles of hatred and puts it in position better to realize important goals.

But love can do more than that, Dr. Hardt said. Quoting Argentinian revolutionary Che Guevara, he spoke of how true revolutionaries are driven by love, and that it is this energy that can lead to concrete actions, and not just the articulation of dreams. Dr. Hardt suggested that Guevara's message was that the love in one's political life should have the same characteristics as the love in one's intimate sphere, that is, affective bonds of strength and durability, as well as the power to transform.

Our dilemma, Dr. Hardt said, is that love and self-love in particular is a destructive force on one hand, but is also a positive and necessary energy. His search for possible solutions brought him to the works of the German-American historian Ernst Kantorowicz, who recognizes two primary modes of political love: that is, the love of the same, and love of multiplicity. Although love of multiplicity sounds a lot like multiculturalism, Dr. Hardt maintained that this is misguided, because multiculturalism is about people of difference becoming the same. Instead, we should work for the love of multitude. This mode of love, defined by multiplicities, Dr. Hardt said, is potentially a revolutionary force: "a revolutionary force that is able to deploy the powerful bonds and transformative capacities of love."

Many scholars, leaders and intellectuals have called upon this revolutionary force. In addition to the work of Dr. King and Guevara, Hardt also spoke at length about Niccolò Machiavelli, and Mao Zedong. It was a thought-provoking presentation, with rich on historic references and impeccably timed.

After the talk, a member of the audience commented that a characteristic of love is that it is unpredictable. "Love is wild, love is uncontrollable", she said. Whether love's wildness will

bring people to embrace multiplicity is, as Dr. Hardt also said, "a political project that will have to wait for another day." Indeed, as the referenced work of Dr. Martin Luther King and Che Guevara shows, love can change the path of the populace in unexpected directions. Recently, the love of sameness has steered voters away from multiplicity and towards a love of sameness, as political causes on the far right side of the political spectrum in Europe and the United States has championed nationalism and won, riding on discontent voters. This suggests that people should be listening carefully to Dr. Hardt's project, not only to understand the populist forces that continues to shake up the liberal order, but also to think more carefully about how love guides us in our political actions, and shapes democracy.

Dr. Hardt's talk at the "The Territory of 'a People': Questioning Community" conference at Boston College, was titled "Love of the People". Dr. Michael Hardt is a Professor of Roman Studies at Duke University. His writings explore the social movements and other forces of liberation that resist new forms of domination in the contemporary world. He has written several books about the political, legal, economic, and social aspects of globalization, including the Empire trilogy (Empire, 2000; Multitude, 2004; Commonwealth, 2009), co-written with Antonio Negri

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY DAVID WOOD

"On Track for Terratoriality"

The scientific evidence of global warming is piling up, and there is currently little reason to be optimistic about our ability to turn the ship around. That is, we are by most credible accounts headed towards disaster. This is so unthinkable that listening to a keynote address about it is automatically processed as if it were pure hyperbole, rather than a thoughtful, evidence-based statement. However, it is exactly because the scenario is "unthinkable" that there is still hope, said Dr. David Wood in talk at the Clough-sponsored conference "The Territory of "a People": Questioning Community", on March 4, 2017.

The hope is in that the necessary courses of action which currently seem impossible, such as prioritizing global cooperation over national self-interest, might be realized because the consequence of business-as-usual is unacceptable.
"I claim that what we used to think of as utopian ideals are no longer utopian but the only directly practical alternatives to the unthinkable," Dr. Wood said.

With catastrophic climate change we are either headed towards unlimited conflict and war, or, by reaching an existential limit, the possibility of "what we might call revolution."

Courses of action that are currently unattainable due to the historical, social, cultural, or psychological constraints under which we currently operate might be taken. "If cooperation to fight catastrophic climate change came to be seen as the only solution, the nations of the world might abandon their default hostility, and even face off against stone-faced corporations," said Dr. Wood.

Unpleasant and potentially destructive political turns are also in the basket of alternative realities that might be forced upon us, as sea levels continue to rise and storms multiply. Many typical dystopian predictions are too optimistic, because they miss how the social fabric will also be twisted by the winds. "As if we were just having to cope with more Hurricane Katrinas rather than a general breakdown of services, without relief from 'outside'." When trouble comes, Wood said, we will not "go over the cliff together", because "reactionary politics will follow without fail."

Dr. Wood offered one illuminating example of how inequalities will be central in the global struggle for survival.

"It cannot happen that Brazil, India and China will come to have anything like our standard of living", he said. "We would need four planets."

After the talk, an audience members took issue with that particular statement. "You can't say that!", he said, highlighting the controversy of developed countries requiring that those that are still on the rise should accept lower standards of living than they enjoy.

"Four planets," Dr. Wood responded. "We will need four planets."

Towards the end of his talk, Dr. Wood outlined several ideas that, however impossible they might seem at present, might be required in the void of other options, and feasible in the heated urgency that catastrophe will bring about. Here are a few excerpts:

- Change corporate law to make corporations accountable to not only their shareholders, but also customers, future generations, and non-humans. Corporate law is a historical invention and can be altered.
- People pursue wealth and power because they think it will make them happy, but many actually want security, health, love, friendship and recognition. Understanding that would lead to less greed, less consumption and lower carbon footprints.
- Xenophobia breeds in the swamp of unemployment or underemployment. If indeed many traditional well-paying jobs are gone forever, then the potential for fortified nationalism,

racism and conflict will swell. New thinking and attitudes towards work could drain that swamp of anger and resentment.

- Corporations currently have the First Amendment rights of persons, including financial contributions to candidates for office as a form of speech. Reversing this position would reduce the impact of fossil fuel companies and the Military Industrial Complex on our political life.
- The UN could be given real military and economic power, to enforce its resolutions, e.g. giving the Kyoto process teeth.
- An international body could offer guaranteed Universal Basic Health Care.
- New countries or states could be created in largely empty land areas, to guarantee refugees a new home.
- People could be paid not to have kids, or to share them.
- Global carbon taxation.
- Cradle to cradle manufacturing and recycling. See Michael Braungart and William McDonough.
- Gross inequality can be tackled by laws on maximum wealth and income.
- Development of alternative forms of social prestige and recognition.
- Serious investments in public transport in the US.

Dr. Wood said that many of his friends think it's already too late, that we have already failed the climate, and that the catastrophe is coming. There are data in support of this, but Dr. Wood noted that "many predictions of disaster rest on linear extrapolations from the present." We might have tipping points ahead of us, "in public opinion and attitudes too, as well as climate change itself." Dr. Wood suggested that Trump's election win might just be the canary in the mine that will ultimately force a dramatic turnaround, both on rethinking democracy and on acting to forestall climate change.

David Wood is W. Alton Jones Professor of Philosophy at Vanderbilt University, where he teaches Continental and Environmental Philosophy. His books include Thinking After Heidegger, The Step Back: Ethics and Politics After Deconstruction, and Time After Time, and he has edited some 12 other volumes. He is also a practicing Earth Artist.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY MARCIA SÁ CAVALCANTE SCHUBACK

"Being without a People"

Schuback begins with a captivating anecdote of a grieving Syrian Muslim Imam stranded in the midst of the Syrian refugee crisis. The imam mourns the death of children but is also pained by their nameless graves, "instead of names there graves had numbers." She signifies this very nameless death, and elaborates that the Imam not only laments over the loss of life but he is devastated by the absence of names in death, thus the loss of the meaning of a people. "One is without a people not because one dies but because one dies and is buried without a name." In this powerful statement lies Schuback's thesis as she unravels the ambiguity of meaning of being a people without a people.

Yet it is not only the refugees that suffer from being without a people but Schuback notes that million of people are suffering

from this very concept of the loss of people. "Millions are escaping the figure of the people; millions are striving for a figure of the people". This simultaneous desire to search and escape from figures is engulfed in the notion of global financial capitalism and Schuback equates this to globalism. She argues that money is indeed the core of globalism but it is also the "great void of names and forms". Money enforces a system of dichotomies within relations and renders them as good and bad, beautiful and ugly. This holistic approach of looking at everything and anything within globalism is a process of "breaking down everyone's being for the sake of rendering everyone capable to become whatsoever". Thus there is a simultaneous process of re-onotoligization and des-ontologization" of everything and anything which is commoditized in hope and comfort at the cost of conformity.

She carefully alludes to the process of transformation built with in the logic of globalism. She argues that the notion of status quo is integral to the notion of change and refers to the Greek origins of the terminology, which also means civil war. Thus status quo within globalistic framework tied to the notion of populism encompasses freedom and insecurity. Thus the rise of populism in globalism is not astonishing but the difficulty in the meaning of people comes from the absence of traditional figures and forms of people. Through the lens of Modernity and Post Modernity the notion of people is being constantly constructed and deconstructed. The construction of the national people is relayed and destroyed as "other" and "foreign", people exists as both "primitive" and "impure". Schuback calls this the "logic of technical possession of life" substantiated by both modern and contemporary history.

Though modernity accompanies the logic of figuration, which demonstrates the idea of the people, Schuback insists that the question here is how is a people today? And how to be a people without a people? Again stressing on the notion of transformation, she uses the notion of time and nostalgia. The oscillating relationship between the two "the nostalgia of what has been and the utopia of what has never been." Using Heidegger's thought of "transition" and the "between" thus it is "not another beginning of the same beginning but another beginning of beginning itself." Thus the oblivion of being begins with nihilism of the metaphysical history. She builds from this concept and notes that it is important to distinguish between people with figures and forms and people without figures and forms. This can help create ideas for "new people" and a "people in becoming" and not limited by the people as folk.

Schuback further complicates her argument by emphasizing the role of technologies of information embedded in the logics of globalism and states "We know that as the medium of globalism, technologies of information have rendered territoriality an anachronistic delimitation of material functions and have created "other" peoples, so to speak. No one needs to be in a place in order to be in a place; technologies of information are technologies of de-territorialization, disconnecting physical bodies from physical places and connecting most distant mental places." This is integral to the meaning of the people without the people, as local becomes global and vice versa. The physical and meta-physical concept of the people is renewed with in the systems of global political economy. The place of the people is not singular but can be located anywhere in the globe. The people of a territory are reproduced, reconstituted and repeated in distinct places inside each place. Thus occurs an exponential process the "entropy of entropy", thus the deconstruction total and self to create the process of beginning.

It is in these frameworks that we see the construction of the Syrian refugee crisis that has deemed people without people per say. But Schuback argues that indeed there are fleeing images of the refugees that may appear as dead bodies on screens. But life is taking place in deep annihilation as birds fly in the backdrop of bombshells while children play in school. Hence the Syrian refugees are not the people as refugees only but are to be seen as the "experience of a bond to the taking place of existence." Thus the bond of living is to both death and life. The Imams tears signify the mourning of existence that existed in the figures and forms of the names. Yet their nameless graves deem them placeless. Thus to "exist with the without of forms and figures of the people, is not the same as to figure out the times as times of transition into future, with or without a finality or a defined or even undefined meaning. It is rather to take the chance to discover the bond to the taking place of existence as the only place – the placeless place – for a worthy life, that we can also call a "human" life." It is this bond that shapes the meaning of the people without a people.

Conference Program

Friday, March 3

8:30 AM · BREAKFAST

9:00 AM · INTRODUCTION & SESSION I: Nomos of "a People"

9:15 AM · PAPER 1: Leisure and Freedom: The Philosophical Life According to the Theaetetus and Apology
Christine Rojcewicz, Boston College

9:45 AM · PAPER 2: The Holocaust and the Coming of Christ: Hannah Arendt on Jewish Responsibility and Community
Lauren Eichler, University of Oregon

10:30 AM · KEYNOTE ADDRESS: Dialectic of Islamic Umma and the "Nation" State: the Power of Ambiguous Myths
Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, Charles Howard Candler Professor of Law at Emory Law School

11:30 AM · DISCUSSION: What Is Islamic Community?
Dr. Dipascuale, Dr. Orwin, Prof. Rasmussen, and **Prof. An-Na'im**

12:45 PM · LUNCH BREAK

1:30 PM · PAPER 3: The People of Democracy and the Authority of the State: On Alexandre Kojeve's Theory of Authority
Toni Koivulahti, Doctoral Candidate at the University of Helsinki

2:00 PM · PAPER 4: Rethinking Refuge from Arendt to Derrida
Sujaya Dhanvantari, Concordia University, Montreal Quebec

2:45 PM · KEYNOTE ADDRESS: Love of the People
Michael Hardt, Professor of Roman Studies at Duke University

3:45 PM · DISCUSSION: The Political Movement
Dr. Edward Mcgushin, Dr. Michael Hardt, and **Dr. Erin Gilson**

Saturday, March 4

8:30 AM · BREAKFAST

9:00 AM · INTRODUCTORY KEYNOTE: Mortal Community
Prof. John Sallis, Boston College

10:00 AM · PAPER 5: The Ecology of Dasein
Kevin Marren, Boston College

10:30 AM · PAPER 6: The Binding Void
Matthew Mersky, Boston College

11:15 AM · KEYNOTE ADDRESS: On Track for Terratoriality
David Wood, W. Alton Jones Professor of Philosophy and Professor of Art at Vanderbilt University

12:15 PM · DISCUSSION: The Question of Ecology and Environmental Ethics
Prof. David Wood, Dr. David Storey, and **Prof. John Sallis**

1:15 PM · LUNCH BREAK

2:00 PM · PAPER 7: On the Obligations for Grounding Community
John Bagby, Boston College

2:30 PM · PAPER 8: Imagined Communities: Fichte, Spinoza and the Political Imagination
Ryan Johnson, Boston College

3:15 PM · KEYNOTE ADDRESS: Being without a People
Marcia Sá Cavalcante Schuback, Professor in Philosophy at Södertörn University

4:15 PM · DISCUSSION: Refiguring the in-between: Imagination and Community
Prof. Richard Kearney, Prof. Schuback, and **Prof. Sallis**

5:30 PM · FAREWELL

About the Keynote Speakers

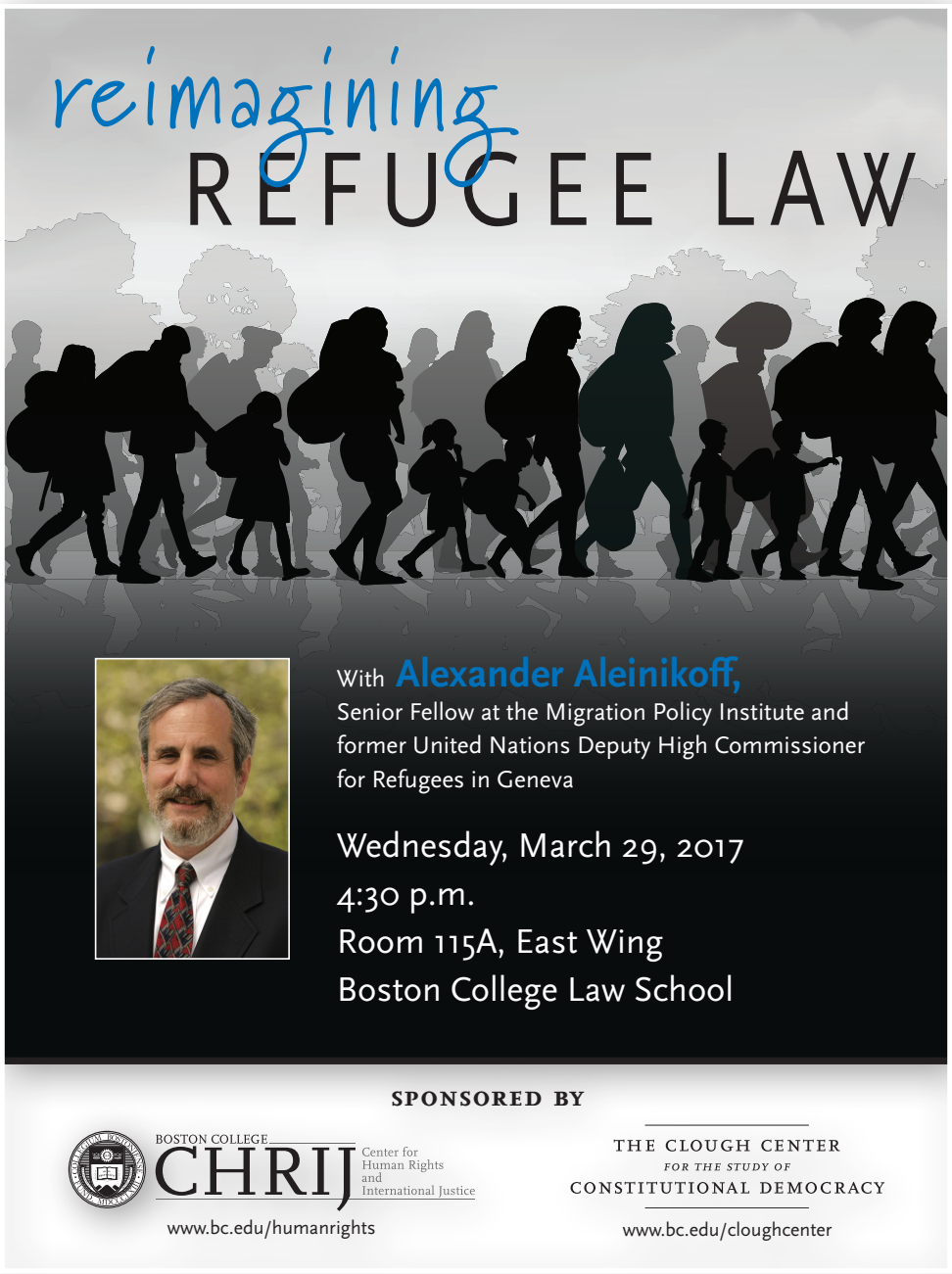
For complete bios of all the conference participants, please visit www.bc.edu/cloughconference.

DR. ABDULLAHI AHMED AN-NA'IM is Charles Howard Candler Professor of Law, and Associated Professor in the College of Arts and Sciences of Emory University, and Senior Fellow of the Center for the Study of Law and Religion. An-Na'im is the author of: *What is an American Muslim* (2014); *Muslims and Global Justice* (2011); *Islam and the Secular State* (2008); *African Constitutionalism and the Role of Islam* (2006); and *Toward an Islamic Reformation: Civil liberties, Human Rights and International Law* (1990). His edited books include *Human Rights under African Constitutions* (2003); *Islamic Family Law in a Changing World: A Global Resource Book* (2002); *Cultural Transformation and Human Rights in Africa* (2002); and *Human Rights in Cross-Cultural Perspectives: Quest for consensus* (1992). He also published more than 60 articles and book chapters on human rights, constitutionalism and Islam and politics in African and Islamic countries. An-Na'im's primary current research project since 2007 is on The Future of Sharia under secular states and legal systems. The blog for this project, in addition to the full text of his book, Islam and the Secular State in eight languages and other materials can be downloaded free of charge are all accessible at https://scholarblogs.emory.edu/aannaim/.

MICHAEL HARDT teaches in the Literature Program at Duke University. He is co-author with Antonio Negri of the *Empire* trilogy (*Empire, Multitude*, and *Commonwealth*) as well as *Declaration*. He currently serves as editor of *The South Atlantic Quarterly.*

MARCIA SÁ CAVALCANTE SCHUBACK is Professor of philosophy at Södertörn University (Sweden). Before moving to Sweden she was associate professor at the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) in Brazil. Her field of specialization is continental philosophy, with focus on phenomenology, hermeneutics, German Idealism and contemporary existential philosophy. She is the author of several scientific articles and monographs in Swedish, Portuguese and English including; *Lovtal till intet* (In praise of nothingness. Essays in philosophic hermeneutics, 2006), *Olho a olho: ensaios de longe* (Eye to eye: essays from far away , 2010), *Att tänka i skisser* (Thinking in and n sketches, 2011), *Being with the Without*, a conversation with Jean Luc Nancy, 2013, *Dis-orentations: Philosophy, Literature and the Lost Grounds of Modernity* (co-edited with Tora Lane), *Time and Form. Essays on Philosophy, Logics, Art and Politics* (co-edited with Luiz Carlos Pereira (2015).

DAVID WOOD is W. Alton Jones Professor of Philosophy at Vanderbilt University, where he teaches Continental and Environmental Philosophy. His books include *Thinking After Heidegger, The Step Back: Ethics and Politics After Deconstruction*, and T*ime After Time*, and he has edited some 12 other volumes. He is also a practicing Earth Artist.



Despite the widespread media attention to a global refugee "crisis," refugee law scholar and practitioner T. Alexander Aleinikoff reimagines an international policy for refugee resettlement and integration as a response to a manageable, if long-neglected, system of displacement and disenfranchisement.

His visit on March 29 to Boston College Law School, co-sponsored by the BC Center for Human Rights and International Justice (CHRIJ) and the Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy, presented a timely discussion on refugee law in a period of political turmoil surrounding border security and forced migration.

Aleinikoff, the former United Nations Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees, is a Visiting Professor of Law at Columbia Law School. He is also Huo Global Policy Initiative Research Fellow at Columbia's Global Policy Initiative and a Senior Fellow at the Migration Policy Institute. He was Co-chair of the Immigration Task Force for President Obama's transition team, and is an American Academy of Arts and Sciences inductee.

The legal scholar's current work is a continuation of his extensive publication record in the areas of immigration, citizenship, race, and refugee law. During his talk at BC Law, Aleinikoff invited feedback on a work in "transformation," a forthcoming book exploring the tension between a desire to improve human

rights and the rights of forced migrants, and states' rights to set borders and legal boundaries.

Aleinikoff began his talk by resisting, in the face of mainstream media inundation, the phrase "refugee crisis" in the context of contemporary Europe. He rerouted attention to folks who do not fit the classic definition of refugee—those forced from their homes in places like Somalia, Sudan, and Columbia across international borders and who end up in long-term refugee situations. If forced migration is the first exile refugees face, the "second exile" describes exclusion of the refugee from social welfare and state life, including health and educational provisions, as well as community integration.

Aleinikoff placed the blame for the rise in protracted refugee situations and the second exile on the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which spends nearly $3 billion a year on refugee assistance, yet creates a problematic North/South divide for shouldering responsibility for refugees. He explained that, since the 1990s, the attitude of global North is to provide funding for refugee resettlement in global South, a model that mirrors the politics of the US Southern border in which militarization deters fleeing Central Americans and deflects to South American nations for integration and care. However, though borders in the global South are often more permeable, the human rights of refugees are often not respected and refugees are settled into long-term camps.

This divide, which Aleinikoff characterizes as a "feel-good route to avoid responsibility," fosters a policy in which the North pays the South to take care of refugees to keep them out of Northern states. Thus, this system creates a "state of dependence" for people in refugee situations, as well as a corresponding model of hegemonic humanitarianism. In response, Aleinikoff calls for a formal structure of burden-sharing that centers on both global responsibility and refugee agency.

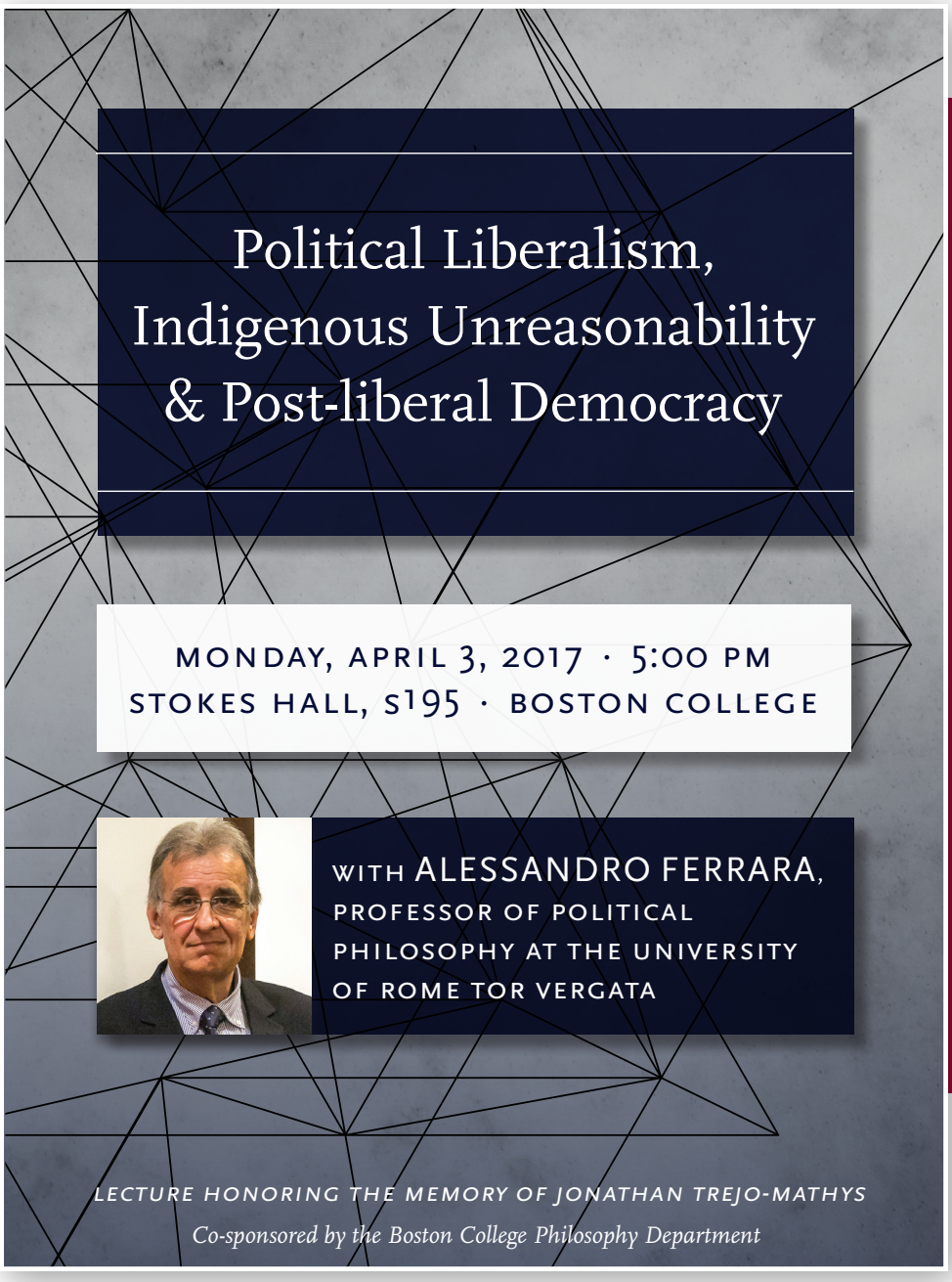
Aleinikoff argued that states have the responsibility because they have created this host-and-donor state system. Imagining the new system of global responsibility requires that inclusion and cooperation are prioritized to pursue five principles of protection: rescue and safety, in-placement and integration into state life, an orientation toward solutions, refugee right to mobility, and voice through refugee political representation. This system almost must focus on renouncing the "liberal consensus" surrounding refugee law that denies refugee mobility, has a narrow view of global development, and offers little in the way of solutions.

Aleinikoff urged that we cannot abide a "humanitarianism" that accepts the "second exile" of people in refugee situations, one that calls the privileged to "donate dollars for more tents, rather than organize to support refugee rights." Rather, in the same way his work reimagines refugee law, we must demand a formal system of state responsibility that respects refugee agency. In conclusion, Aleinikoff issued a call to action that extends even beyond global responsibility, affirming that "we all have a role in fixing the system that has left so many poorly served for so long."

About T. Alexander Aleinikoff

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

T. Alexander Aleinikoff, the former United Nations Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees, is a Senior Fellow at the Migration Policy Institute, where he works with the U.S. and International programs on asylum and migration and development topics. He is also Visiting Professor of Law at Columbia Law School and Huo Global Policy Initiative Research Fellow at Columbia's Global Policy Initiative. Prior to his service with the U.N., Aleinikoff was a professor at Georgetown University Law Center (1997-2010), where he also served as Dean and as Executive Vice President of Georgetown University (2004-10). He was a professor of law at the University of Michigan Law School from 1981 to 1997, and he served as General Counsel, and then Executive Associate Commissioner for Programs, at the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) from 1994-97. He was Co-Chair of the Immigration Task Force for President Obama's transition team. A leading scholar in immigration and refugee law, Mr. Aleinikoff has published numerous books and articles in the areas of immigration law policy, refugee law, citizenship, race, statutory interpretation, and constitutional law.



Alessandro Ferrara's philosophical project has always been about expanding and deepening our understanding of democracy. His most recent book, *The Democratic Horizon. Hyperpluralism and the Renewal of Political Liberalism*, pushes our most centrally held notions about democracy to their limits. He argues that to be truly open to a wide range of societies, we ought to imagine democracies centered on duties rather than rights or those that encourage agreement and consensus over strong public contestation. In essence, he argues that the actual pluralism as we encounter it in the world can be amendable to democracies, but they will not necessarily be the democracies that we have built in the Anglo-American world. In the book, he makes the appeal that non-western democracies could look quite different than our own American and Western European but still maintain the ethos of democracy – passion for the common good, equality, individual well being, and openness.

But, in his talk on Monday April 3, entitled "Political Liberalism, Indigenous Unreasonability and Post-liberal Democracy," he acknowledged that his work has overlooked a key threat to liberal democracy. "Indigenous unreasonablility" is a kind of unreasonability that comes from within liberal societies rather than from societies with other political traditions. Ferrara's past work focused on bringing non-liberal societies -- whom famous politi-

> “He argues that to be truly open to a wide range of societies, we ought to imagine democracies centered on duties rather than rights or those that encourage agreement and consensus over strong public contestation.”

lecture, Jo

cal philosopher John Rawls would have called “unreasonable”--into dialogue to imagine building new kinds of democracy. In the wake of waves of populism in the United States and Europe, however, Ferrara argues that there are unreasonable people within these “reasonable” (i.e. politically liberal) societies, and they are the current threat to democratic liberalism.

Populism, on Ferrara’s account, confuses the “demos,” or people in democracy with the nation or the electorate. It assumes that “the people” are homogenous. Populism insists, therefore, that there is only one legitimate interpretation of what the common good is, and it rejects the idea that reasonable people can disagree about how to build the most just society.

Turning to the causes of populism, Ferrara noted the increasing economic inequality across Europe and the United States, pointing to those left behind by globalism. As their economic power wanes, so to does their political power, and they resort to efforts to close the political community. Outsiders become scapegoats, and the core values of democracy – passion for the common good, equality, individual well-being, and openness—are under threat.

If the cause is largely an economic one, the solution to curbing the power of populism is also economic. Ferrara argues that we must address the inequality produced by globalization without becoming isolationists, counter the influence that the financial industry has on the electorate, and create an alternative narrative to empower those who have been marginalized.

Ferrara’s lecture was the second annual Jonathan Trejo-Mathys Memorial Lecture. Jonathan was an Assistant Professor of Philosophy in the Boston College Philosophy Department whose life was cut short by sudden and serious illness. His family and the Boston College community remember him every year with this lecture. Jonathan’s work focused on global justice, social philosophy, and critical theory. As his family stated at the end of the

About Alessandro Ferrara

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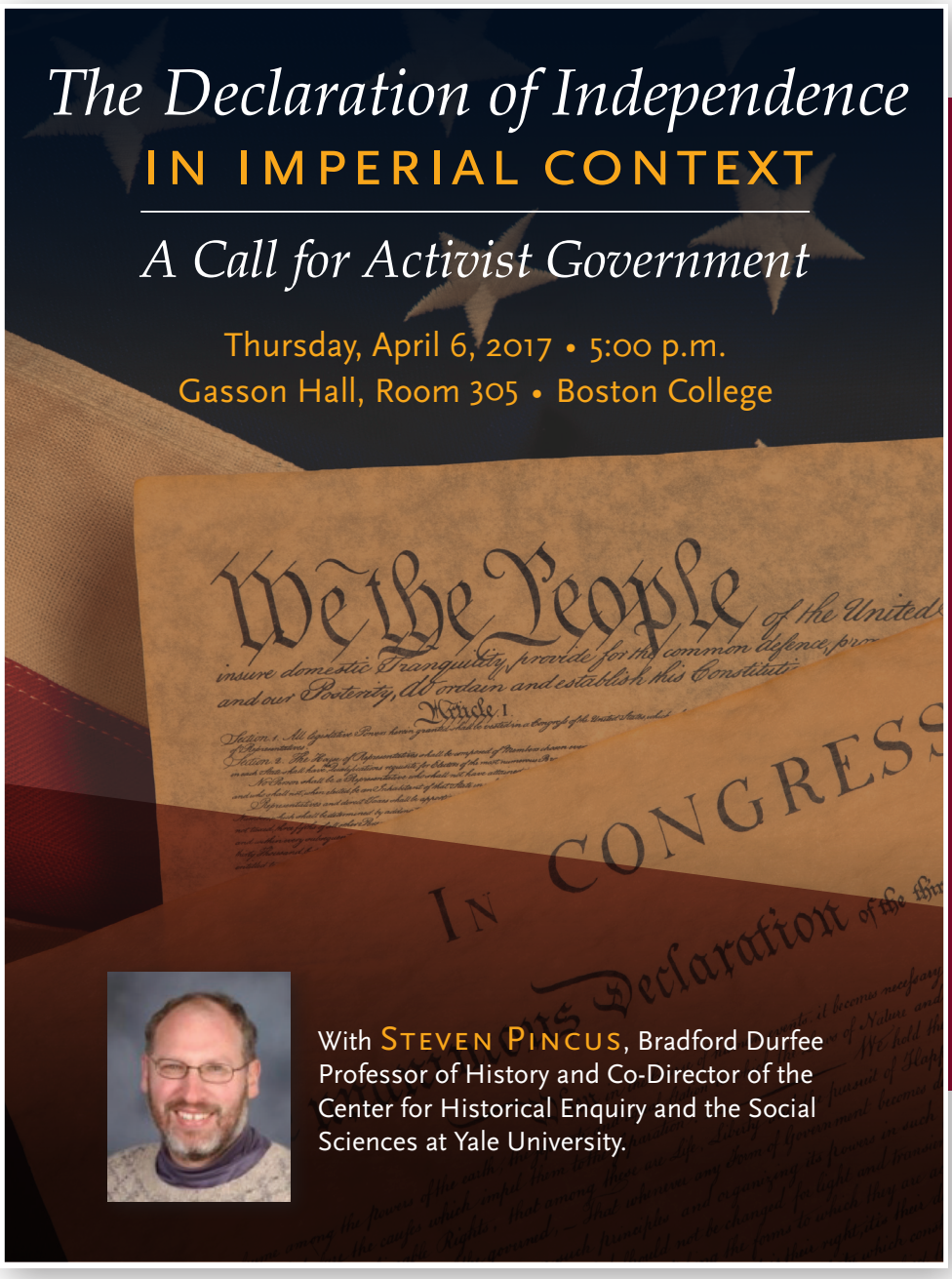
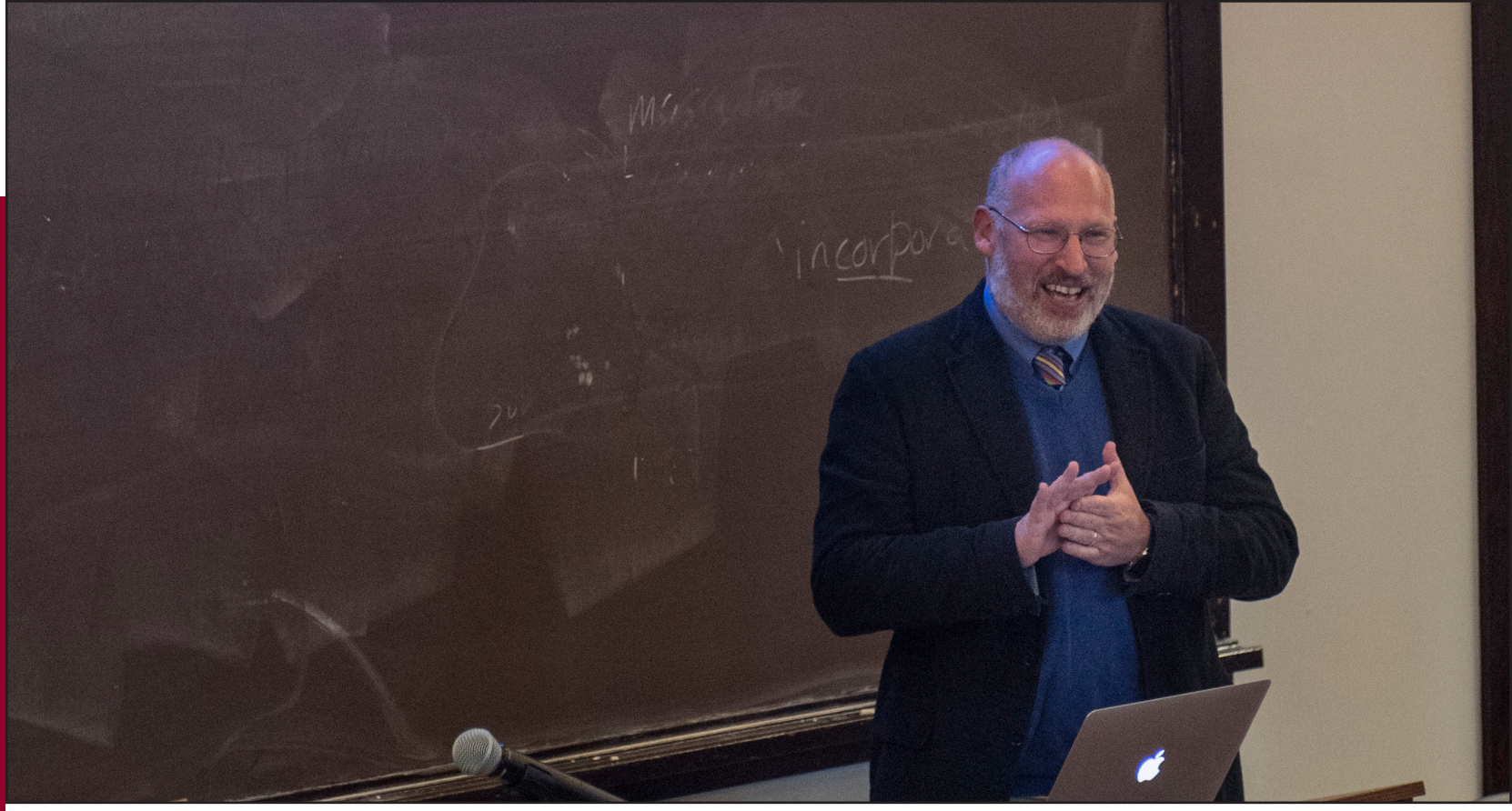
Alessandro Ferrara is Professor of Political Philosophy at the University of Rome "Tor Vergata" and former President of the Italian Association for Political Philosophy. Recently he has published *The Democratic Horizon: Hyperpluralism and the Renewal of Political Liberalism* (Cambridge UP, 2014). He has also authored T*he Force of the Example: Explorations in the Paradigm of Judgment* (Columbia UP, 2008), *Justice and Judgment* (Sage, 1999), and *Reflective Authenticity* (Routledge, 1998). An editorial consultant on the board of Constellations, Philosophy and Social Criticism, and The European Journal of Philosophy, a co-editor of the series P*hilosophy & Politics – Critical Explorations* (Springer), he serves as co-director of the yearly conference: Philosophy and Social Science, held in Prague since 1993 under the aegis of the Czech Academy of Science.



Why did the thirteen colonies break away from the British crown to create their own state in North America? Professor Steven Pincus's talk reappraised the evidence and arrived at a novel interpretation of this foundational question. Moving away from traditional left-wing interpretations of the Declaration of Independence of 1776 as a revolt against coercive power and aristocratic privilege, or conservatives such as Gordon Wood who claimed the revolution as a struggle against big government, and even scholars of World Systems theory who interpret the American Revolution as a revolt from the periphery against the core, Professor Pincus situates the conflict between colonists and loyalists as a "revolt against austerity." Oddly for someone who was about to wage war against British Redcoats, George Washington harangued his troops in northern Manhattan by telling them that they would be fighting to defend privileges contained in the English Constitution. Indeed, for the patriots, King George had become a tyrant by embracing Prime Minister Robert Walpole's economical theory, which reneged on the tradition of state-supported growth that had benefited them as colonists. Pincus argues that patriots had developed ideas of political economy that emphasized the role of state-supported growth in response to the debt crises of the eighteenth century. In the patriot viewpoint, Great Britain needed to subsidize immigration to support the development of colonial economies. To ensure the success of the colonies, London needed to support



trade so that goods became available in the colonies. Moreover, it needed to abolish slavery, so that colonial workers did not have to compete with slaves for work.

George Washington, like his brother Lawrence, admired the opponents of Walpolean economics that surfaced in the early eighteenth century. Their grand Virginia estate, Mt. Vernon, was named after the radical Whig Edward Vernon, who was one of the most prominent detractor of Walpole. Vernon believed that the Empire should invest primarily in the Caribbean colonies, and move away from protectionism. Vernon advocated trade relations with Spanish America and the French colonies, and called for the end of the monopoly of the South Sea Company. This company had the reserved right to send one ship laden with English goods a year to Spanish America in exchange for giving the Crown a sizable cut. These policies had already caused a wave of smuggling in the Caribbean, with thousands of English and Welsh goods runners attempting to bypass British and Spanish coast guards to trade with the rich elites of Havana, Maracaibo, or San Juan.

Indeed, Walpolean political economy was anathema to the patriots, which in the United States would declare independence in 1776, who believed that their wealth was borne out of trade. In order to grow economically, the colonies needed to boost manufacture and have open markets to export these goods. They also believed that the colonies needed to boost domestic spending, which meant higher wages, and also the abolition of slavery, since slaves were not good consumers. Patriots loathed slavery for utilitarian reasons: slavery was an unstable system because a slave rebellion could happen anytime. They were also racists who did not want blacks in the North American continent. If need be, patriots were not loath from waging war against Spain and France to eject them from the Caribbean. Moreover, they feared French encirclement of the North American colonies, which was plausible since the French controlled a large swath of land from Canada to Louisiana.

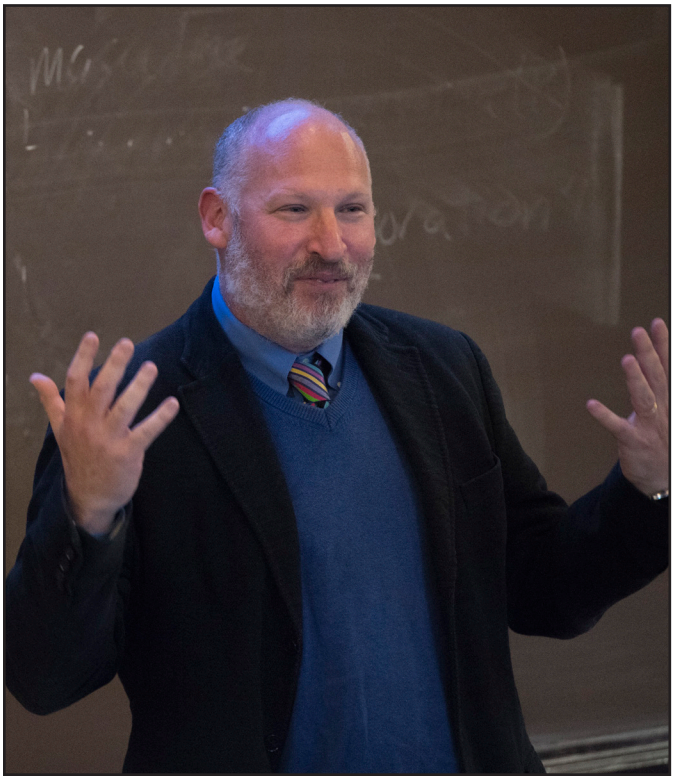
The anti-Walpoleans had enjoyed few successes. As an MP, Vernon pushed through the creation of the state of Georgia, which was going to be a virtuous colony of working non-slave owning settlers. The Empire spent a sizable sum of 10 thousands pounds on migration to Georgia. But the appointment of the Whig George Grenville was a sharp reverse for the anti-Walpoleans, for Grenville's economic program was "Walpolean economics on steroids." The 1765 Stamp Act, the Sugar Act, the closing off of the Spanish American market, and the rollback of government spending and the subsidies of migration – a result of postwar return to mercantilism and austerity policies to divert money for military spending – angered the anti-Walpoleans. For them, the return of protectionism and austerity policies, that they considered detrimental to their economic wellbeing, was nothing short of a catastrophe. In the numerous anti-royal pamphlets of the 1760s and 1770s, the patriots compared themselves to the

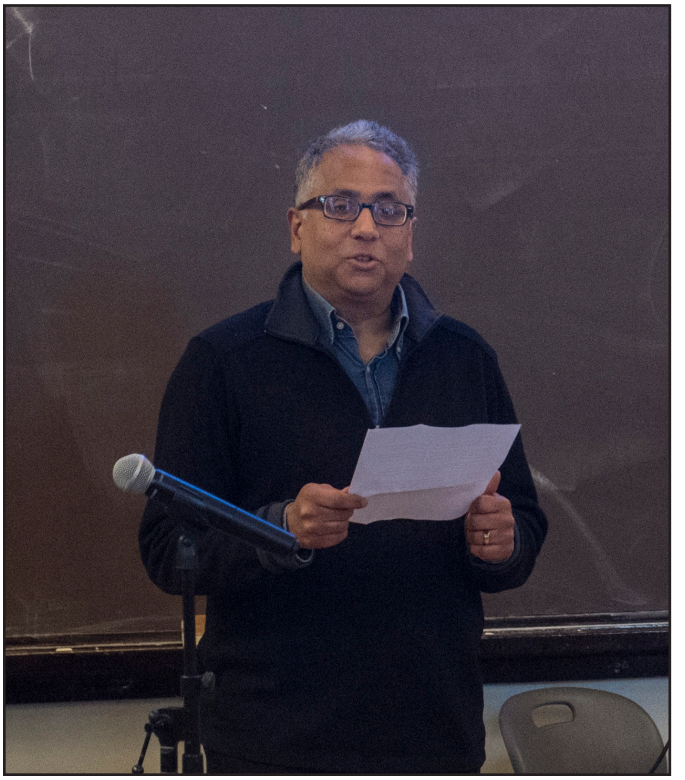
> “The slogan of ‘No Taxation without Representation’ was not an argument against taxation, but for colonist’s influence on where the money was being spent. . . These were obviously not arguments against Empire, but for a different type of Empire.”

Indian subcontinent, and particularly Bengal, which under the tutelage of Robert Clive, had suffered a major famine that killed three million people. The patriots blamed the mass death on the Crown’s unwillingness to bankroll food purchases. They saw what had happened in Bengal as a prelude with what would happen in America, if the Crown’s austerity policies prevailed.

Therefore, Pincus argues, the slogan of “No Taxation without Representation” was not an argument against taxation, but for colonist’s influence on where the money was being spent. They argued that austerity would hurt the Empire. For George Washington, more taxation meant less money in the pockets of colonists, and therefore, British manufactures would lose revenue for they would not be able to sell as much. These were obviously not arguments against Empire, but for a different type of Empire. In their eyes the Empire was a good thing, as long as it was accountable to the wishes of colonists. Their vision for a federal version of empire was, however, one that the King George III was not interested in, so they declared their independence from his.

In conclusion, the Declaration of Independence was a call for a government that was heavily involved in the economy, by bankrolling immigration, suppressing slavery, and investing in the colonies. It was neither a revolt against autocracy in the style of 1789, and it was neither a push to abolish taxation. Patriots believed that austerity was dangerous because it threatened the economic survival of the colonies, particularly vis-a-vis the French which did invest heavily in their colonies. In short, in the eyes of patriots, Walpolean economics had rendered the empire “Un-British.”





About the Panelists

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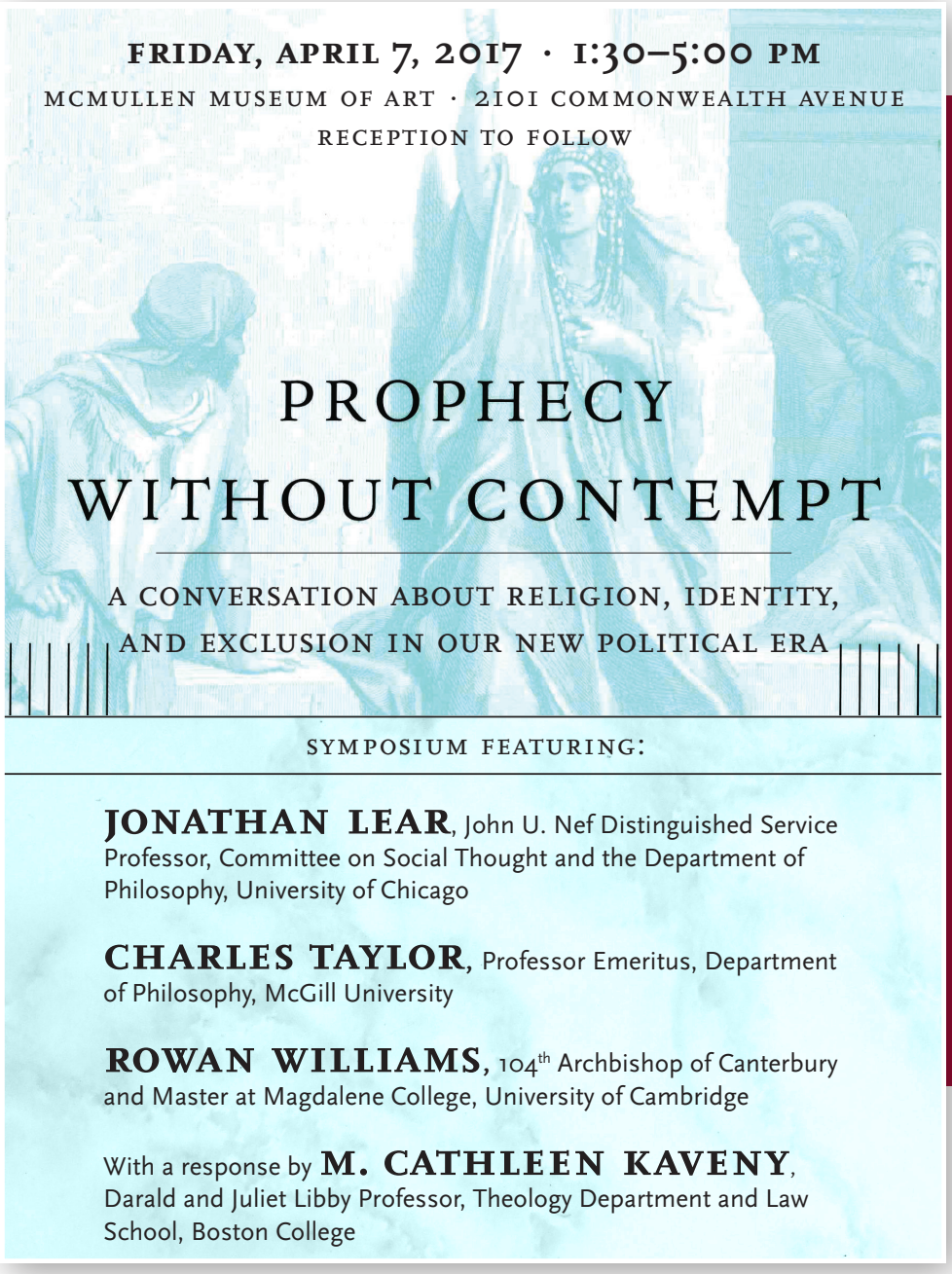
Steven Pincus is the Bradford Durfee Professor of History and Co-Director of the Center for Historical Enquiry and the Social Sciences at Yale University. He is the author of several books including *1688: The First Modern Revolution* and most recently *The Heart of the Declaration: The Founders Case for Activist Government.* He is now completing a book tracing the British Empire from its origins until 1784. He has edited two collections of essays, and published numerous essays on the economic, cultural, political and intellectual history of early modern Britain, early modern Empires,the British Empire, and the early modern Atlantic.

Professor Pincus received his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1990. At Yale he teaches 17th and 18th century British, Atlantic and European history, the history of the early British Empire, and Directed Studies. He is also a co-organizer of two regular Yale colloquia: CHESS workshop and a new workshop on Early Modern Empires. In addition to research seminars in History, he regularly co-teaches cross disciplinary seminars with faculty in other departments. Recent topics have included the Divergence of Britain, Comparative Revolutions, and Early Modern Empires in Theory and Practice.



Cathleen Kaveny's recent book, *Prophecy without Contempt: Religious Discourse in the Public Squares*, was discussed by a three-man panel at the McMullen Museum of Art at Boston College on April 7, 2017. The event was celebratory -- panel members called the book a timely work of great importance in a period of political distress, both in the United States and Europe. A large audience, some of them standing, added weight to the book's significance.

What the audience got was an engaging discussion on the importance of finding a compelling narrative for a time in which multiculturalism is struggling to win people over, and fuming discontent with the status quo make people yearn for a past that cannot be restored.

Professor Charles Taylor, faculty member of McGill's Philosophy department, asked the audience to consider France's 2011 public ban on full-face veils such as niqabs and burqas, which drew on laws passed by the third republic in 1905, promising to protect secularism in the country by separating the church from the state. That is not secularism, Dr. Taylor proposed. Rather, secularism is people of difference living well together. But instead of espousing that narrative, politicians, such as former president Nicolas Sarkozy, scapegoat immigrants and thereby further social divisions. In response to this exclusionary force, Dr. Taylor argued, still drawing on the case of France, an increasingly large group of French Muslims responding to the alienation by rejecting the mix of cultural values that they considered Frenchness, and instead fully embraced Islam, as an oppositional alterna-

tive. That is, two identities that are fully compatible are instead framed as mutually exclusive, at the peril of social harmony. This social logic, Dr. Taylor suggests, resonates all too well in the political upheavals of 2016.

"We have to see all people as part of our project, not our enemies", said Dr. Taylor. At present, that narrative is not convincingly told.

Professor Jonathan Lear, of the Philosophy Department at the University of Chicago, spoke at length about prophecy, which he said is "not just standing witness" of social change, but is also "meant to make a difference in how people go forward into the future". This Hegelian orientation to progress does not mean that the past should be left behind altogether, Dr. Lear noted, but rather that we can and should "go forward ... and restore the past, without being stuck with how the past was, without forgetting it, and without being limited by it, in the creation of a better future". Building a more religious society, for example, "is not necessarily a return to temple worship", because "those who say that we cannot worship god without building temples are stuck in the past." The way forward, Dr. Lear suggested, is open and hopeful, and this prophecy is needed, perhaps particularly in this moment of political upheaval. "We are living through a time of political anxiety that is about the future of political identities. We have a sense that we are astray from a time, what is it going to mean in the future to be European or British, etc.." Prophecy can be the guide.

104th Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams also linked Kaveny's book to the political climate. In his own words, "we're in the middle of a political nervous breakdown." Among the symptoms, Dr. Williams said, is confusion about democracy and civic discourse. "How are we to unearth and continue an alternative to a hobbesian war against all?" Dr. Williams contested the argument that was often heard after the elections in the US and the UK, namely that "the will of the people" was heard, and that was the end of it. That logic suggests that we do not live in a healthy democracy, Dr. Williams said. In fact, it was this view of majority rule that made Plato and others dislike democracy. A healthy democracy is rather one in which civic liberty arguments are "preserved and honored", and what keeps civil discourse going is "not the simple change of facts and arguments, it is good narrative, which also offers a space in which we can recognize each other as people".

The political events of 2016, Dr. Williams said, came about because the "losing" side relied too much on facts and statistical predictions, and failed to create a convincing narrative of inclusion and openness. "Facts alone did not make enough of a difference." Drawing on Brexit as a key example, Dr. Williams said that what we need to do is to retell the story of the European Union that allows new perspectives to emerge. The people need to hear a compelling narrative.

Dr. Williams linked this perspective to Kaveny's book, and the idea of covenant, which is "a narrative idea", that is to say that "it is narrative in its basic description ... The robustness and creativity of prophecy has to do with that narrative energy." Also in the notion of prophecy is the hopeful view that recent setbacks will not necessarily tamper liberal politics, because "prophecy is based on failures that aren't destructive. It is possible to tell a story of repeated failures that isn't despair."

The importance of creating narratives should remind us of the important part that dramatists might have, as they are, through their work, able to "give us an awareness that we belong to a story." But also, Dr. Williams said, prophecy is also about action and physical behavior, and even when our problems are complex and it is not clear what we should do, we can add our weight to the cause we believe in. We don't need a concrete plan to act against unwanted forces of change."I don't know what I mean, but here is my life, my act that I offer as my word, stepping beyond words when you don't know what to say that makes a prophetic gesture." With words and action, and a compelling narrative, civic liberty and a truly democratic world can prevail, said Dr. Williams.

Dr. Cathleen Kaveny, Darald and Juliet Libby Professor at Boston College, has appointments in the Theology department and Law School. She is the author of several books and over a hundred articles and essays, specializing in law, ethics, and medical ethics. *Prophecy without Contempt: Religious Discourse in the Public Squares* is her most recent book.

About the Panelists

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CATHLEEN KAVENY joined the Boston College faculty in January 2014 as the Darald and Juliet Libby Professor, the first role of its kind at Boston College, which has appointments in the Theology department and Law School. Professor Kaveny has published over a hundred articles and essays in journals and books specializing in law, ethics, and medical ethics. She serves on the masthead of Commonweal as a regular columnist. Her book, *Law's Virtues: Fostering Autonomy and Solidarity in American Society*, was published by Georgetown University Press in 2012. It won a first place award in the category of "Faithful Citizenship" from the Catholic Press Association. She is currently completing a book entitled Prophecy without Contempt: An Ethics of Religious Rhetoric in the Public Square.

Kaveny has served on a number of editorial boards including *The American Journal of Jurisprudence, The Journal of Religious Ethics, the Journal of Law and Religion*, and *The Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics*. She has been a visiting professor at Princeton University, Yale University and Georgetown University, and a visiting scholar at the University of Chicago's Martin Marty Center. From 1995 until 2013 she taught law and theology at the University of Notre Dame, where she was a John P. Murphy Foundation Professor of Law.

She is also the president of the Society of Christian Ethics, the major professional society for scholars of Christian ethics and moral theology in North America. It meets annually in conjunction with the Society of Jewish Ethics and the Society for the Study of Muslim Ethics.

JONATHAN LEAR is the John U. Nef Distinguished Service Professor at the Committee on Social Thought and in the Department of Philosophy at the University of Chicago. He trained in Philosophy at Cambridge University and The Rockefeller University where he received his Ph.D. in 1978. He works primarily on philosophical conceptions of the human psyche from Socrates to the present. He also trained as a psychoanalyst at the Western New England Institute for Psychoanalysis. His books include: R*adical Hope: Ethics in the Face of Cultural Devastation* (2006), *Aristotle and Logical Theory* (1980), *Aristotle: the desire to understand* (1988), *Love and its place in nature: a philosophical interpretation of Freudian psychoanalysis* (1990), *Open minded: working out the logic of the soul* (1998), H*appiness, death and the remainder of life* (2000), *Therapeutic action: an earnest plea for irony* (2003), and *Freud* (2005). His most recent books is *A Case for Irony* (Harvard University Press, 2011). He is a recipient of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Distinguished Achievement Award. In 2014, he was appointed the Roman Family Director of the Neubauer Collegium for Culture and Society.

CHARLES TAYLOR is one of the most important thinkers Canada has produced. His writings have been translated into 20 languages, and have covered a range of subjects that include artificial intelligence, language, social behaviour, morality and multiculturalism. A pupil of Isaiah Berlin at Oxford, Taylor taught at McGill from 1961 to 1997, and is now a professor emeritus. A public intellectual, Taylor never hesitated to make his ideas known - he ran in three federal elections, most famously against Pierre Trudeau in 1965. *Sources of the Self*,

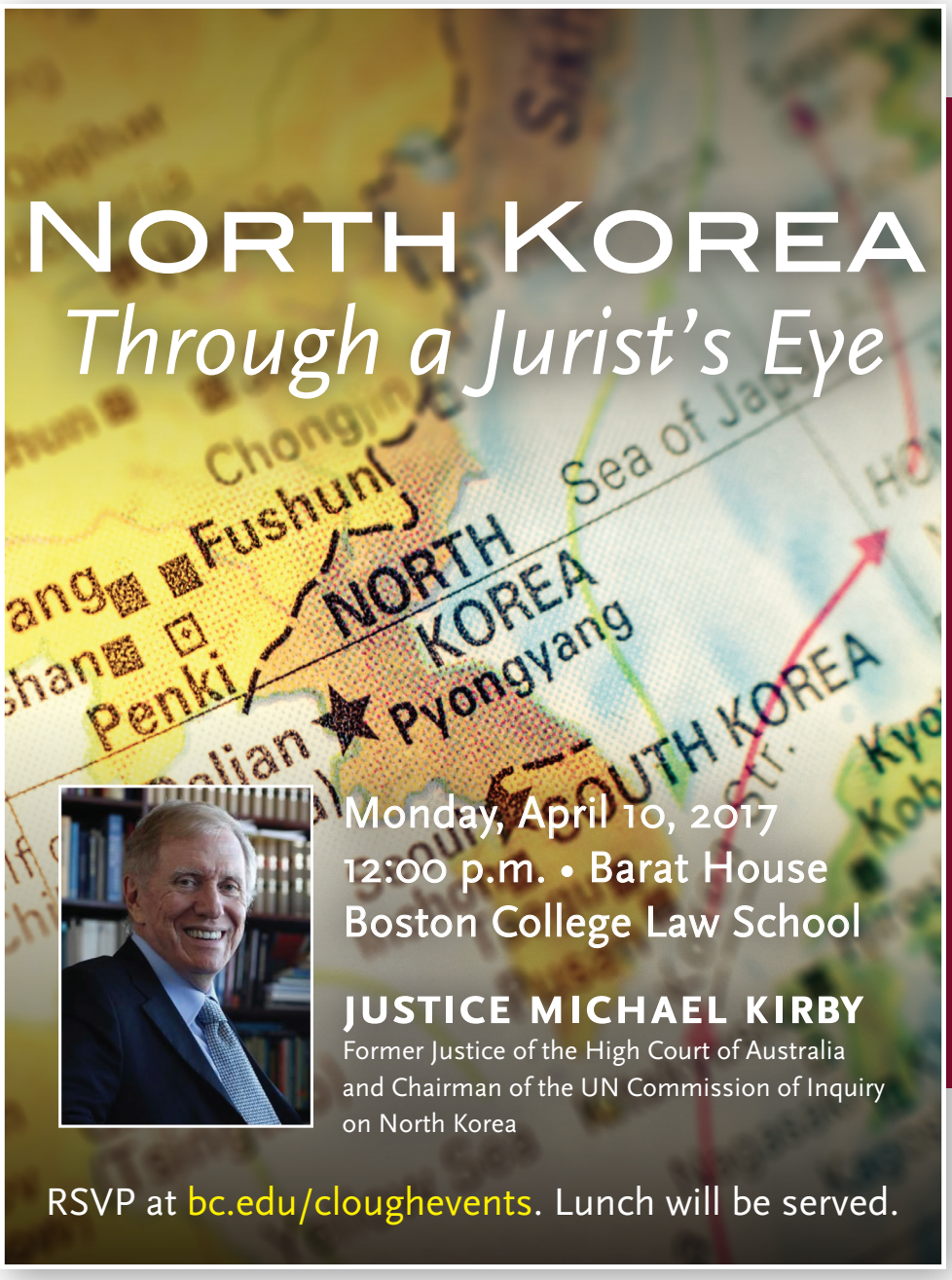
his 1989 book, achieved a wide general readership. His former mentor, Isaiah Berlin, said of him, "whatever one may think of his central beliefs, [they] cannot fail to broaden the outlook of anyone who reads his works or listens to his lectures or, indeed, talks to him."

In 2003, Taylor was awarded the first Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Gold Medal. In 2007, he was again in the public eye, this time for three different accomplishments: he received the prestigious Templeton Prize for Progress Toward Research or Discoveries about Spiritual Realities, the world's largest annual monetary award for an individual; he joined forces with sociologist Gérard Bouchard to chair the high-profile Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences, the Quebec government's response to a string of controversies surrounding the "reasonable accommodation" of religious groups; and he published *A Secular Age: a study of the changing place of religion in our societies*, which the *New York Times* hailed as "a work of stupendous breadth and erudition. "

In November 2008, Taylor became the first Canadian to win Japan's Kyoto Prize for arts and philosophy, an achievement marked by a ten-day lecture tour of Japan. He is also a member of the Order of Canada. Today, Taylor continues to write and lecture extensively, especially on multiculturalism and secular society.

ROWAN WILLIAMS is the 104th Archbishop of Canterbury currently serving as Master at Magdalene College at University of Cambridge. Dr. Williams' career began as a lecturer at Mirfield (1975-1977). He later returned to Cambridge as Tutor and Director of Studies at Westcott House. After ordination in Ely Cathedral, and serving as Honorary Assistant Priest at St. George's Chesterton, he was appointed to a University lectureship in Divinity. In 1984 he was elected a Fellow and Dean of Clare College. During his time at Clare he was arrested and fined for singing psalms as part of the CND protest at Lakenheath airbase. Then, still only 36, it was back to Oxford as Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity for six years, before becoming Bishop of Monmouth, and, from 2000, Archbishop of Wales.

Williams was awarded the Oxford higher degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1989, and an honorary DCL degree in 2005; Cambridge followed in 2006 with an honorary DD. He holds honorary doctorates from over a dozen universities, from Durham to K U Leuven, Toronto to Bonn. In 1990 he was elected a Fellow of the British Academy. Dr. Williams is a noted poet and translator of poetry, and, apart from Welsh, speaks or reads nine other languages. He learned Russian in-order to read the works of Dostoevsky in the original. This led to a book; he has also published studies of Arius, Teresa of Avila, and Sergii Bulgakov, together with writings on a wide range of theological, historical and political themes.



On April 8, 2017, President Trump met with Chinese leader Xi Jinping in Florida for the first of their much-anticipated meetings. The results—or lack of—were overshadowed by the Administration's decision that morning to launch a series of airstrikes in Syria following Bashar al-Assad's use of chemical weapons, which the White House called "a wake-up to the civilized world." But according to foreign policy analysts, the attacks were meant to have an additional effect on Trump's meeting with Xi that day: to underscore the U.S.' renewed willingness to use force against other rouge states, namely, North Korea. Hours later the U.S. diverted an aircraft carrier toward the Korean peninsula, while Trump Administration officials noted their "full range of options" in responding to further provocations. "With North Korea, the underlying issues are just as complex [as Syria]," the Washington Post explained, "but the threat of a nuclear conflict... makes the stakes far higher."

While we pay attention when North Korea tests another nuclear device—and for good reason—we have all but written off North Korea's unlucky citizens, who, if they manage to escape into neighboring China, must live sub rosa or risk being deported back to a life of hard labor and often death. "A person like me has to constantly remind the world that it is not just a security issue, but a human rights issue," said Justice Michael Kirby in this year's Clough Distinguished Lecture on Jurisprudence.

Kirby's list of titles and honors are too long to name, but the former (1996-2009) Justice of Australia's High Court's most recent role was Chairman of the UN Commission of Inquiry into North Korea. According to Kirby, the Commission was the result of "a constant scream of complaints, testimony, and evidence" over the last ten years to investigate and publicize "at the highest level" the extent of Pyongyang's crimes against its citizens. "Security affects us," Kirby reminded the audience, "but human rights affects them."

Even for serial rights-abusing states, North Korea presents a unique challenge for jurists. It owed its geographic borders to the pencil of Dean Rusk, later U.S. Secretary of State but in World War II just a middling State Department official. Rusk had never been to Korea, but was ordered to literally draw up new borders for an "American zone" in the South and "Soviet zone" in the North, per Franklin Roosevelt and Joseph Stalin's agreement at the 1943 Cairo Conference. "If the Clough Center is a study of electoral democracy," Kirby remarked of the autocratic regimes each side imposed and backed for several more decades, "then neither of the two were such." But while the South transitioned to democracy in the 1980s, buoyed by rapid economic growth through external trade, the North sank deeper into the totalitarianism and autarky its ruling family adopted and adapted from Stalin. Today, the "Hermit Kingdom" respects few international laws or agreements, but then again, it does not claim to.

The Commission's first task was to decide on a methodology. Usually, Kirby explained, the UN uses European civil law traditions for such investigations, which, while efficient, lack the "Anglo-American tradition of transparency and openness." Those values were especially important in North Korea's case, since Pyongyang refused to let Commission members into the country, nor would they answer any questions the Commission posed. Thus, the decision was made to make the investigation as open and accessible as possible, by releasing progress reports, inviting media to public hearings, and broadcasting film for television and online audiences. In accordance with due process, the Commission continually updated the North Korean government on its proceedings, and Kirby personally sent Kim Jong Un a copy of the final report "to see if he wanted to make any factual comments, corrections, etc." (This, too, was ignored.) The Commission also adopted the Anglo-American tradition of providing extracts of witness testimony—namely, that of Koreans who had escaped the North through its borders with China, Russia, and Mongolia. "If we did nothing else," Kirby insisted, "it was this." Including testimony "on every second page of the report [was] a way of showing that the UN system was taking their complaints and their suffering seriously."

The Commission also developed a ten-point mandate for assessing human rights abuses, evaluating, among others, access to food, restrictions on movement, prison conditions and detention camps, and human trafficking. Testimonial evidence of the government's guilt was overwhelming. Also included in that mandate were two other categories of even more serious violations. The charge of crimes against humanity—understood since 1946 as "crimes of violence, pursued as a matter of state policy, which shock the conscience of mankind"—was, sadly, easy to prove. The Commission could not declare evidence of genocide, however, since Pyongyang's mass killings did not occur primarily on the "basis of race, nationality, ethnicity, or religion."

Of course, the Commission is not a court, Kirby reminded the audience, "but a fact-finding commission. Inquiry was our obligation." When the report was completed in 2014, it recommended that the UN Security Council refer the matter to the International Criminal Court for prosecution through the use of an "exceptional provision" it possessed. While the UN Human Rights Council adopted the report's recommendations unanimously, so far no Security Council member has put forth a motion for referral. Kirby believes this is because of a "feeling on the part of Western countries that China and Russia would veto it," and he is almost certainly correct. (Russia added that while it did not object to the Commission's findings, it disagreed with "country-specific mandates" for prosecuting such crimes. Meanwhile, China "politely refused" to work with the Commission during its investigation on refugees, maintaining that North Koreans who escape into China are "economic refugees" whom it may deport back under international law.)

As of this writing, Washington says that all cards are on the table in responding to North Korea's increasingly aggressive behavior. According to the Wall Street Journal, Trump told President Xi in a phone call on April 11 to "let Kim Jong Un know the U.S. doesn't just have aircraft carriers, but also nuclear submarines."

"As of this writing, Washington says that all cards are on the table in responding to North Korea's increasingly aggressive behavior."

This is dangerous thinking. "Anybody who thinks you can have a nice little nuclear war on the Korean peninsula [is wrong]," Kirby insists. "The immediate effects are so horrendous and substantial on humans and the environment that we cannot think of a contained nuclear war."

Still, Kirby has hopes for a "happy ending" to North Korea's state of repression and isolation. "The people of North Korea are men, women, and children like us. They did not choose the division of their country, and their divisions are a temporary settlement."

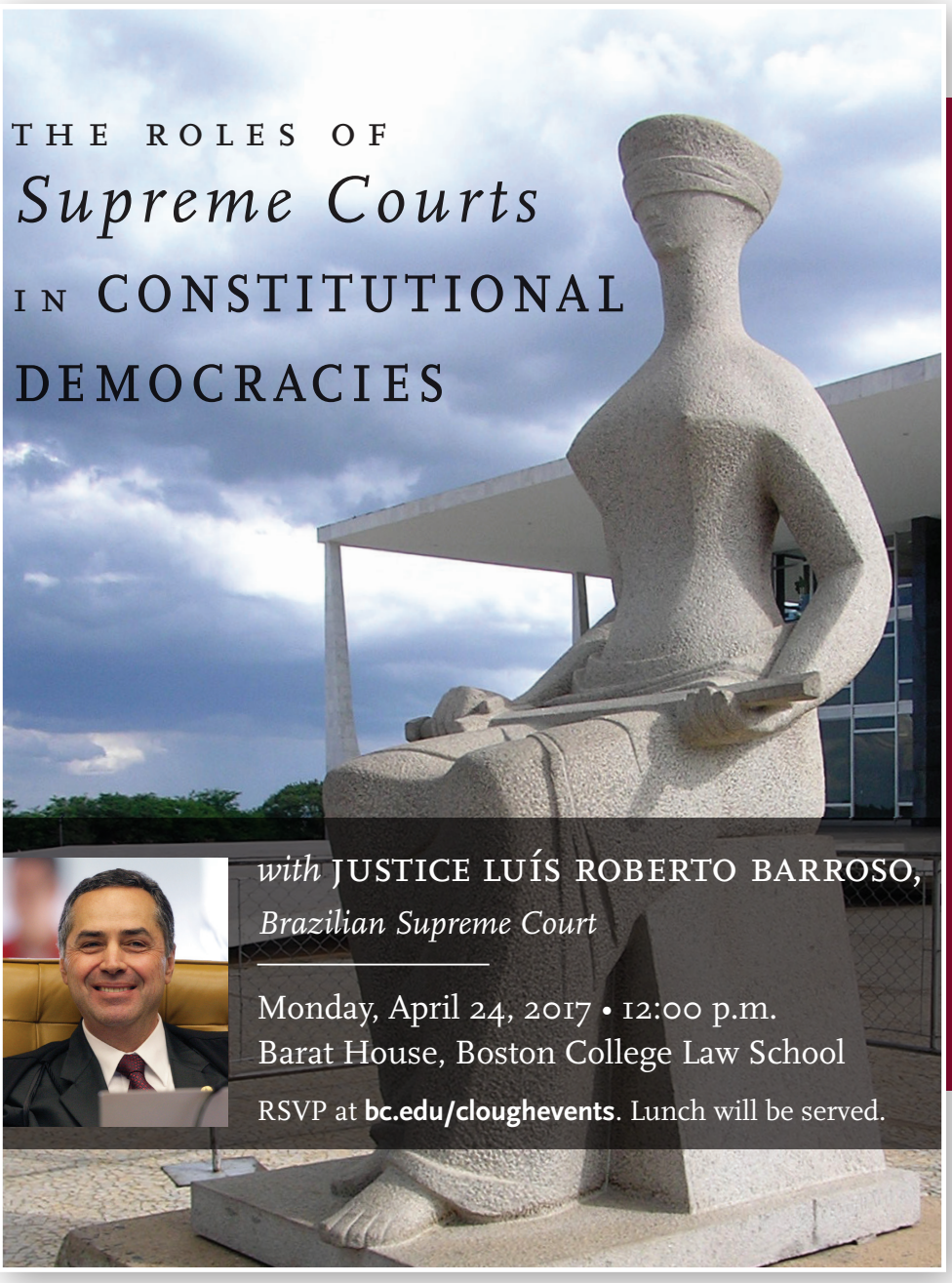
About Michael Kirby

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Michael Kirby is an international jurist, educator and former judge. He served as a Deputy President of the Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission (1975-83); Chairman of the Australian Law Reform Commission (1975-84); Judge of the Federal Court of Australia (1983-4); President of the New South Wales Court of Appeal (1984-96); President of the Court of Appeal of Solomon Islands (1995-96) and Justice of the High Court of Australia (1996-2009).

He has undertaken many international activities for the United Nations, the Commonwealth Secretariat, the OECD and the Global Fund Against AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. He has also worked in civil society, being elected President of the International Commission of Jurists (1995-8). His recent international activities have included member of the Eminent Persons Group on the Future of the Commonwealth of Nations (2010-11); Commissioner of the UNDP Global Commission on HIV and the Law (2011-12); Chairman of the UN Commission of Inquiry on DPRK (North Korea) (2013-14); and Member of the UN Secretary-General's High Level Panel on Access to Essential Healthcare (2015-16). He is also heavily engaged in international arbitrations; domestic mediations; and teaching law. He is Honorary Professor at 12 Australian and overseas universities.

In 1990 he was awarded the Australian Human Rights Medal. In 1998, he was named Laurette of the UNESCO Prize for Human Rights Education. In 2010 he was named co-winner of the Gruber Justice Prize. In 2011 he received the inaugural Australian Privacy Medal. The honorary degrees of Doctor of Letters, Doctor of Laws and Doctor of the University have been conferred on him by universities in Australia and overseas. He lives in Sydney with his partner since 1969, Johan van Vloten.



Thanking the Clough Center for inviting him, and audience for allowing him to speak about a topic different than the current Brazilian crisis, Brazilian Supreme Court Justice Luis Roberto Barroso discussed the political importance that Supreme Courts have attained in creating policy and the challenges that these new powers bring with them. Justice Barroso argued that Supreme Courts have contributed to an international judicialization of law, and although he made the disclaimer that courts may not always get it right, the effect of this judicialization has generally been good because it has advanced society.

Constitutional ideas have become globalized. These ideas originate in the constitutional practice of the United States, which become dominant after World War II. Contrary to the French version of 1789, which understood the constitution solely as a political document, the American model recognized a legal dimension of the constitution. The courts were to review and interpret the constitution. The constitution was to have supremacy, not the parliament. The Supreme Court could invalidate acts by the executive and legislative.

And indeed, this is happening increasingly in the United States and in the world where there has been an important transfer of

> “As a matter of exception, and never as the rule, courts may be empowered to interpret political opinion, and interpret the constitution according to this understanding.”

power from political branches to the courts in the last years. In Brazil, the Supreme Court that created the framework that led the impeachment of Rouseff and declared the ban on gay marriage unconstitutional, in the United States, the Supreme Court validated gay marriage and in Israel allowed for the building of the wall on the border with the Palestinians. In South Korea, the court was instrumental in presidential impeachment and in South Africa struck down the death penalty. These examples of judicialization can be found all over the world. This judicialization has challenged the principle of separation of power, and creates the need for the legitimization of these novel roles for courts, and also a review of the democratic nature of the court’s actions.

Barroso’s emphasizes three overarching roles under which the decision-making of supreme courts can be subsumed. Supreme courts can assume counter-majoritarian, representative, and enlightened roles. Counter-majoritarian rights are generally exercised with great parsimony given that it infringes upon the powers of legislatures. In the United States, if the Supreme Court strikes down a law based on its constitutional review powers, is considered to be exercising a counter-majoritarian right. Barroso believes, however, that this need not be the case. In fact, courts play a very important role in democracies because they offer a venue for public debate.

As a matter of exception, and never as the rule, courts may be empowered to interpret political opinion, and interpret the constitution according to this understanding. Barroso listed numerous examples where courts reached decisions that were more representative of popular will than legislatures. In Brazil, the court was tired of the inaction of the legislature, and declared that nepotism was unconstitutional, which corresponded to public opinion at the time. Equally in Canada, the court recognized the fundamental right to abortion in 1988, and in 1965, the US Supreme Court struck down the criminalization of contraceptives, and in 2003 overturned the ban on homosexual relations. These decisions were representative of popular opinion, and cannot be said to have been counter-majoritarian. For Barroso, “they might have been counter-legislative, but no counter-majoritarian.”

The courts also have the right to enlightened jurisprudence. Once again, Barroso pointed to numerous examples where courts had made decisions that had gone against the common sense of the time, but had proven to be in tune with the course of history. The abolition of slavery, the protection of women, the protection of racial and homosexuals, transgender people, and religious minorities cannot depend on the majoritarian processes. Therefore, courts often took it upon themselves to legislate enlightened decisions that went against public sentiment.

Barroso was careful to make the disclaimer that the philosophy underlying his thought is not founded on Plato' authoritarian ideas, but on Aristotelian good ideas and political measure. In the United States, courts have often assumed enlightened roles. The decision against segregation in Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka (1954) was arguably against the common sense of the time but very necessary. The courts also stopped the criminalization of miscegenation in Virginia, which was representative of northern views, but certainly not southern views. Barroso also sees Roe v. Wade as an enlightened decision. Courts do not always get it right, the Dred Scott vs. Stanford case of 1857 validated slavery. Nevertheless, for Barroso, "law has always been found at the intersection of reason," and thus "courts have to be the guardians of reason."

Barroso also made the disclaimer that countries are not at the same stage, and courts needed to exercise caution and carefully monitor the values of the society that they inhabit. They have to work with humility but also determination when they believe the cause is right. Questioned about his attitude towards the notion of constitutional originalism of the deceased Supreme Court justice Antonin Scalia, which would preclude any of the enlightened interpretations Barroso suggests, the Brazilian jurist proclaimed his fundamental disagreement. Indeed, the courts cannot abrogate their progressive role in society.

As a way of conclusion, Barroso argued that we must realize that court's decisions are not always counter-majoritarian. Very often their representative and enlightened decisions are mislabeled as counter-majoritarian, when they are really only counter legislative. Courts have the duty to represent popular opinion or sentiments, even, and perhaps especially, when politicians are unable or unwilling to do so.

About L.R. Barroso

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

L. R. Barroso is one of the leading constitutional judges of our time. Serving in the Brazilian Supreme Court, Justice Barroso earned an LL.M. from Yale Law School and an Ph.D. in Law from the Rio de Janeiro State University's Faculty of Law, where he holds the Constitutional Law Chair. Justice Barroso's court opinions and scholarship are the center of attention of scholars and observers of constitutional courts worldwide.

Clough Junior Fellows

The Junior Fellows Program (JFP) provides a wide variety of opportunities for undergraduate scholarship pertaining to the study of constitutional democracy. The JFP hosts members-only events and discussions, providing a unique forum for intellectual discourse. Additionally, Junior Fellows have privileged access to private events sponsored by the Clough Center, enabling undergraduate students to interact firsthand with some of the most distinguished political science scholars in the country. The 2016-2017 Junior Fellows are:

CLASS OF 2017

Mackenzie Arnold
Joseph Arquillo
Teighlor Baker
Miles Casey
Nathan Dahlen
Grace Denny
Adrianna Diradoorian
Ryan Duffy
Christina Fallon*
Domenick Fazzolari
Alyssa Florack*
Kayla Fries
James Gilman*
Steven Gingras*
Thomas Hanley*
Jessica Ilaria*
Konstantinos Karamanakis
Abigail Kilcullen*
Kathleen Larkin*
Christine Marie Lorica
Sean MacDonald
Olivia McCaffrey*
Lidya Mesgna*
Emily Murphy*
Anna Olcott
Matt Phelps*
Jordan Pino*
Samantha Spellman*
Luke Urbanczyk
Keara Walsh
Joon Yoo
Conor McCadden*
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Alexandra Pilla*
Nanayaa Pobee*
Sydney Sullivan*
Amelie Trieu
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Daniel Yang*
Nicholas Yennaco

CLASS OF 2018

Michael Alario
Kayla Arroyave*
Juan Bernal
Austin Bodetti*
Miriam George*

CLASS OF 2019

Alexandra Graham*
Julianna Marandola*

*Civic Internship Grant Recipients

Civic Internship Grants

Consistent with the Center's mission to support students committed to service to others, the Clough Center provides grants to Boston College undergraduates for what would be otherwise uncompensated work on behalf of government, non-profit, or other civic organizations during the summer. The 2016 Civic Internship Grants have been awarded to:

KAYLA ARROYAVE is from Naperville, Illinois. She is a history and international studies double major with a concentration in international ethics and social justice as well as a Hispanic studies minor. At Boston College, she is the Secretary of the Bellarmine Law Society and a member of Women in Business and of Nourish International. Her ambitions extend outside the classroom and into trying to find a way to make a positive impact on the world every day. She teaches ESL and volunteers inside and outside of the Boston College community. The travel bug bit her at a young age and Kayla takes advantage of every opportunity she has to explore a new city. Next year, she will be studying abroad during the spring semester in Santiago, Chile.

Since her sophomore year of high school, Kayla has strived towards law school. Her summer internship was with the Law Office of the Cook County Public Defender. Cook County encompasses the city of Chicago and provides legal representation to its citizens. The Office is focused on protecting the rights and liberties of every client. She worked within the Legal Resources Division, which handles appeals and post-conviction processes. Within this division, she assisted attorneys with trial preparation, which includes filing transcripts and organizing court documents. She learned how to conduct legal research and writing, draft motions and appeals, conduct client interview sessions, and attend motion hearings all while learning about the complexities of case law. Assisting with the volume of casework while providing legal counsel for people who would otherwise be unable to afford a lawyer was a way for her to explore her interest in law while contributing to the public good.

AUSTIN BODETTI is a student in the Gabelli Presidential Scholars Program majoring in Islamic Civilization and Societies and minoring in Arabic studies. Outside Boston College, he works as a freelance journalist, and his work on conflicts in Myanmar, Syria, and elsewhere has appeared in *Cracked*, *The Daily Beast*, *The Daily Dot*, *The Diplomat*, *The Global Post*, *Vice*, and *USA Today*.

Professors David DiPasquale and Kathleen Bailey from the Department of Political Science have helped Austin research ethnic conflict and religious intolerance in the Arab and Muslim worlds. Last summer, he studied these topics in Indonesia, Myanmar, and Thailand through the Martin Luther King Jr. Advanced Study Grant from the University Fellowships Committee, the Mizna Fellowship from the Islamic Civilization and Societies Program, the Summer Research Grant from the Center for Human Rights and International Justice, and the Travel Grant from the Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy, strengthening his understanding of Muslim minorities in Buddhist countries.

Over the summer, Austin traveled to Uganda to work with World Peace and Reconciliation, an American nongovernment organization focused on conflict resolution, conflict transformation, peace building,

and peacekeeping in Darfur, the Blue Nile, and the Nuba Mountains, Sudan's three most-troubled regions. His work was divided between researching the country's many civil wars to document war crimes and crimes against humanity—using Arabic—and teaching English to Sudanese and South Sudanese refugees around Kampala, the Ugandan capital.

In the future, Austin hopes to work at a newspaper such as *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, or *The Washington Post* or think tanks such as the Institute for the Study of War, the Middle East Forum, or the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, using what he has learned at the University and in Uganda.

CHRISTINA FALLON is a political science major in the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences class of 2017. She is from South Hamilton, Massachusetts and recently returned from a semester abroad at the University of St. Andrews in St. Andrews, Scotland. While at BC, she had the opportunity to complete an internship with MA State Representative Kate Hogan, who, in addition to representing the 3rd Middlesex District of Massachusetts, is also the co-chair of the Committee on Public Health. After working with and supporting her staff, Christina was eager to gain further real world experience in a government-related area.

Over the summer, Christina worked for Congressman Seth Moulton, who represents the 6th District of Massachusetts. In addition to best representing his district, Congressman Moulton is committed to the economic growth of Massachusetts as well as policy areas of issue such as veterans' affairs. While working in the Congressman's Salem District Office, Christina gained further experience in constituent services, casework, and current policy issues. In addition, she enjoyed helping to make a positive impact on life in her home district! Following graduation, she plans to continue gaining experience in both government and private areas related to her political science major, while attending law school in the near future.

ALYSSA FLORACK is majoring in Environmental Studies with a concentration in Political Science. She grew up in Green Bay, Wisconsin and came to Boston College after graduating from Notre Dame Academy. During high school, she was involved in both academics and sports, completing a full diploma in International Baccalaureate and captaining the varsity soccer team for two years. She also participated in several clubs, from student government to raising awareness and funds for cancer research.

Alyssa's love for the outdoors has inspired her to engage with environmental issues in multiple ways, most fundamentally by being accepted into the Environmental Studies Program. She's also joined extracurricular groups on these issues as the Vice President of Geology Association, a research assistant in a Paleontology lab during her semester abroad in Australia, an Undergraduate Research Fellow in the BC Political Science department, and an executive member on Climate Justice at BC.

Over the summer, Alyssa continued working to protect threatened public goods through an internship at U.S. Public Interest Research Group (PIRG), a non-profit, non-partisan advocacy group that uses grass roots organizing, research, public advocacy and litigation in order to protect democracy by standing up to powerful special interests. During her internship, she worked on the campaign to stop the overuse of antibiotics on livestock and poultry. In her work with U.S. PIRG, Alyssa assisted with campaigns directed at major food chains and will be producing reports on various issues to share with the general public.

In addition, this internship helped Alyssa to learn about different careers in public policy. After graduation, she plans to attend law school, focusing in environmental issues, in order to make her own contributions to public policy. In her future career, she hopes to design policy within the government or to work for an advocacy organization like U.S. PIRG or the NRDC.

MIRIAM GEORGE is originally from Singapore, but has lived in Shrewsbury, Massachusetts for most of her life. She is a Political Science major and a Hispanic Studies minor. At BC, Miriam is a Chapter Director for Generation Citizen, a non-profit organization which works to bring an effective action civics education to low-income and minority students in the Boston Public Schools. Every semester, she teaches a different class of high school students about government and advocacy, and then engages in an action project with them to solve an issue that their community is facing; her classes have chosen to work on issues ranging from the school-to-prison pipeline to racially-motivated traffic stops in Boston. In addition, Miriam is a member of the Undergraduate Government of Boston College and the Chair of the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women committee at BC's upcoming EagleMUNC Model UN conference. She is a Resident Assistant and a member of the BC Flute Ensemble as well.

Miriam is particularly interested in the protection of the civil rights and liberties of minority and immigrant groups, which is why she chose to intern with the Civil Rights Division of the Massachusetts Attorney General's Office. The Civil Rights Division works to end discrimination and to ensure equal and meaningful opportunity for all to participate in civic society, in areas such as education, housing, employment, healthcare, transportation, and voting. Miriam worked as a non-legal intern in the Division; her responsibilities included interviewing complainants and reviewing complaints, mediating disputes, referring complainants to outside organizations, conferring with Assistant Attorneys General about possible intervention by the Office, and assisting staff members in conducting ongoing investigations and court cases.

In the future, Miriam hopes to attend law school, and eventually, to work as a lawyer or public official in the field of civil rights and anti-discrimination law, with a special focus on the interests of minority and immigrant individuals.

JIMMY GILMAN is from Rochester, New York and is a political science major with minors in geological science and philosophy. He is an avid sports fan, having played baseball and basketball in high school. At Boston College, he is a member of the cycling team. He enjoys doing community service in the Boston area, and has done work at the St. Francis House shelter and the Commonwealth Tenants' Association after school program. Next year, he will be a member of Boston College's PULSE Council in which he will coordinate different placements for Boston College's PULSE service-learning course. He studied abroad in Ecuador in the fall of 2015, where he became close to fluent in Spanish and worked at a school for disadvantaged children. He hopes to do more working and living abroad in the future, and will start that by participating in Boston College's Arrupe Program and its trip to Morelos, Mexico.

Through his coursework, he has developed an interest in environmental concerns in the world. Because he has a background in both policy and the earth sciences, James hopes to go into the field of environmental law, policy, or advocacy. He has thought extensively about becoming an environmental attorney, but most of all hopes to work with any organization in this field. Through his work at various non-profits in the Boston area, he has also become interested in the functioning and development of non-profit businesses.

Over the summer, he worked at the non-profit Earthwatch in Allston. The organization specializes in environmental research trips. Their business model revolves around taking ordinary people on these trips and having them do research in a "citizen scientist" mold. James's work with Earthwatch involved identifying groups of people that would be likely to go on trips and developing models for recruiting them. He had the opportunity to go on one of their expeditions after completing the internship. James was able to learn more about non-profit business development through his work and gained more knowledge and awareness of environmental issues and occurrences in our world.

STEVEN GINGRAS is a senior in the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences at Boston College pursuing a major in Political Science and a minor in Art History. Steven is a native and lifelong resident of East Boston, Massachusetts. Before coming to Boston College, he attended Boston Latin School, where he had the fortune of being selected for the John William Ward Fellowship, a program that introduces students to public service. Through this program, Steven was afforded an unparalleled introduction to local civic community, which sparked a commitment to public service.

Over the summer, Steven was able to continue his involvement with public service as an intern for the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs in Washington, D.C. As a committee intern, he was tasked with a number of duties to assist the committee in its work, including conducting research, gathering information, composing memos, preparing for hearings, and drafting correspondence on behalf of the Ranking Member, Senator Tom Carper. With the committee's wide range of oversight, Steven was able to work on a variety of important contemporary topics, such as the Zika Virus, oversight of the Department of Homeland Security and the TSA, improper payments by government agencies, the continued thread of ISIS, and the Opioid Abuse Epidemic. He was able to witness firsthand how legislators were responding to these issues on a national level and the work of congressional staff to support them in this duty.

After his time interning with the committee, Steven was able to participate in a second program, spending four weeks in the Chinese cities of Suzhou and Shenyang, teaching high school students international affairs, public speaking, and diplomacy through a course on Model United Nations. Model UN has been one of the activities he has been most involved in during his time at Boston College, and getting the opportunity to spread it through this cultural exchange was an exciting and unique challenge. Still formulating his plan for life after Boston College, Steven knows he would like to continue his involvement in civic participation throughout his future career.

ALEXANDRA GRAHAM is a sophomore majoring in Applied Psychology and Human Development in the Lynch School of Education with a minor in Economics. From the Washington, D.C. area, she is extremely interested in educational policy work, both through the federal and nonprofit sectors. After spending previous summers working inside the classroom for a private school's summer program, she decided to take her professional goals of educational work to a new height. Working one-on-one with children inside the classroom visibly demonstrated the power and importance of a high quality education on her students' future social and academic achievements. Alexandra imagined the support she could provide to not just handful of students, but hundreds and thousands of students in the United States and abroad by pursuing education professionally.

Over the summer, Alexandra worked at The White House Initiative on American Indian and Alaska Native Education, a branch of the Department of Education that aims to strengthen the Nation by expanding opportunities and improving educational outcomes for its American Indian and Alaskan Native students. She served as of one the Initiative's policy assistants, working closely with the Executive Office of the President to help ensure the implementation of key administrative priorities. She had the opportunity to participate in some of these meetings, as well as write policy reports regarding future propos-

als. Finally, Alexandra pursued the Initiative's networking goals—sharing the best practices in minority education and encouraging the implementation of these policies. This experience prompted Alexandra to continue delving into the world of education policy and reform, possibly also exploring the nonprofit sector in the future.

THOMAS HANLEY is a senior majoring in Political Science and minoring in International Studies with a concentration in Conflict & Cooperation. A dual Irish-American citizen, Thomas grew up in Rochester, New York and graduated from McQuaid Jesuit High School in 2013. Previously, Thomas worked as a strategist intern with R/GA digital advertising working on Nike's Western European Running Campaign in their London, England office. He spent time taking intensive Danish language courses before spending a semester studying Political Science at the University of Copenhagen in Denmark. At Boston College, Thomas is a producer with the Boston College Television station and a member of the Political Science Departmental Honors Program. During the fall semester, Thomas is taking an intensive seminar on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict before traveling to the region to gain a first-hand perspective on the conflict. Additionally, Thomas will be spending the duration of his senior year working on a Political Science Departmental Honors Thesis, examining the impact of the current asylum and migration crisis on the rise of right-wing populist parties in Europe, with a focus on Denmark and Sweden.

For his civic internship, Thomas spent the summer working for the United States Department of State. He was posted to the U.S. Tri-Mission in Brussels, Belgium (The Tri-Mission includes the U.S. Mission to the European Union, U.S. Mission to NATO, and the U.S. Embassy in Belgium). While in Brussels, Thomas was assigned to the Department of State's U.S.–European Media Hub. The Hub, as it is referred to colloquially, is a part of the U.S. Department of State's Office of International Media Engagement, working with the Public Affairs Office of the U.S. Mission to the European Union and with Public Affairs Offices at U.S. Embassies throughout Europe. Thomas assisted in all facets of the Hub's work, and, while he was not working, conduct interviews in Brussels for his upcoming Thesis.

After graduation, Thomas hopes to spend a year teaching English or working for an international or nongovernmental organization abroad before pursuing a master's degree in International Relations and inevitability have a career centered on International Relations in some capacity.

JESSICA ILARIA is a senior in the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences studying Political Science with a minor in Medical Humanities. She is originally from a small town called Zionsville, Indiana. She spent her last semester is Istanbul, Turkey, studying Political Science and International Relations at Bogazici University, where she had an incredibly eye-opening experience learning about Turkish politics and culture. While at Boston College, she is involved in extracurricular and volunteer opportunities in different aspects of college life. Previously a dedicated member to the Emerging Leader Program freshmen year, she continued to be a sophomore facilitator that worked towards helping acclimate freshmen into the Boston College community. She also participates in 4Boston and volunteers at ACEDONE, an after-school tutoring program for Somalian refugees. Jessica is on the Student Admissions Program Executive Board as the High School Visits and Outreach Coordinator, which will allow her to work with many of the prospective high school students interested in Boston College. Another role Jessica has on campus is Chapter Director for the Boston College chapter of Strong Women, Strong Girls, a mentoring organization for third to fifth grades girls that works towards building confidence and teaching girls about volunteering and community engagement in elementary schools throughout the Boston area.

During the summer of 2016, Jessica interned at the office of Senator Joe Donnelly of Indiana in Washington, D.C. Her responsibilities included, but are not limited to, attending hearings; researching policy issues; compiling information to respond to constituent inquiries; pulling press clippings; helping draft press statements and assisting with the operations of the D.C. office and other projects as assigned.

Jessica has not decided definitively what she will be doing after graduation, but she knows that whatever she pursues, it will have an international component to it. She hopes to have a position where she is working towards creating policies that positively affect the lives of those who feel that they do not have a voice in society.

ABIGAIL KILCULLEN is a senior at Boston College majoring in Applied Psychology and Human Development in the Lynch School of Education with a minor in Sociology. She is from a suburb of the greater Washington, D.C. area in Kensington, MD. Having had extensive community service experiences as well as exposure to Catholic Social Teaching throughout high school, she gradually fostered a passion for and interest in social justice issues facing marginalized, vulnerable populations. The various sociology and theology classes she has taken at Boston College coupled with her involvement in an inner city tutoring program has led her to specifically seek out opportunities that serve and interact with the criminal justice system and those affected by the issue of mass incarceration.

Abigail interned with three programs, CARE, RESTART, and RISE, in the Federal District Court in Boston. CARE and RESTART are programs that seek to help people who are on federal supervised release and probation to re-enter the community after incarceration. Many participants have substance abuse issues and face daunting challenges in obtaining housing and employment. The RISE program is for criminal defendants who have been released into the community and are awaiting sentencing. They have one year to demonstrate that they are making strides toward rehabilitating themselves by addressing deficits such as drug abuse, unemployment, and educational needs.

As an intern, Abigail attended program meetings and was responsible for researching best practices for re-entry programs, helping establish contacts in the community, working with the program administrators to improve the programs, working with participants to assess their needs and address them, and helping establish a process for statistical evaluation of the program's success.

As for future plans, there are a few different paths that Abigail sees for herself. In the case that Abigail decides to pursue criminal law or criminal justice policy reform someday, she would then like to attend law school. However, her humanitarian interests may push her to attend graduate school in San Diego for Social Work or Non-Profit Management. Therefore, she believes that gaining hands on experience by working directly with the affected population through researching, interacting with, and understanding these people and their obstacles will provide her with a solid foundation moving forward.

KATHLEEN LARKIN—originally from outside of Philadelphia—is a senior studying International Studies with a concentration in Political Science and is minoring in Economics and Women's and Gender Studies. On campus, Kathleen is actively involved in the Jenks Leadership Program and is a director for the Jenk's class of 2017. She has also participated extensively in Boston College's Model UN and EagleMUNC club and was a member of the Boston College Pom Squad her Freshman year.

Over the summer, Kathleen worked for the United States Department of State in Washington, D.C. in the Bureau for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor (DRL). DRL is committed to "protecting freedom and democracy and protecting human rights around the world." The Bureau aims to accomplish these goals through "bilateral diplomacy, multilateral engagement, foreign assistance, reporting and public outreach, and economic sanctions," by working with numerous government and non-government organizations both regionally and internationally. During her internship, Kathleen had the opportunity to work directly alongside foreign and civil service members as well as ambassadors to promote human rights around the world. Her work had a direct impact on the lives of citizens around the world, from aiding NGOs to directly providing the funds for human rights activists to escape persecution in their home countries.

Kathleen would like to work either for or with the government in areas of foreign policy since her eighth grade U.S. history class. Her passion for International relations and social justice has only grown in her years at Boston College. Her internship helped to solidify her interest in the field and she looks forward to exploring various career opportunities.

JULIANNA R. MARANDOLA is a sophomore in the Carroll School of Management Honors Program. In the Carroll School, she concentrates in Finance and Entrepreneurship. A native of Cranston, Rhode Island, Julianna serves as an Executive Board Member for the Honors Program's Community Integration Committee, the Boston College Chapter of Smart Woman Securities, and Boston College Splash. She is also a member of the Boston College Pep Band, in which she plays the trombone. As both a business and pre-law student, Julianna's academic focus lies in developing a more comprehensive understanding of the intersection of the public and private spheres. Upon graduation, Julianna intends to pursue a career in strategic consulting.

Over the summer, Julianna served as a policy research intern in the Office of Rhode Island Lieutenant Governor Daniel J. McKee. Her work centered on supporting Lieutenant Governor McKee's tri-part "Advance RI" initiative, which seeks to develop and promote legislation that will improve and modernize Rhode Island's public education system, cities and towns, and small businesses. Lieutenant Governor McKee's Office is also strongly oriented toward creating regionalization programs that will enable Rhode Island municipalities to engage in the sharing of utilities and services across local lines. Her internship included research assistance in each of these areas, with a particular focus on projects relevant to Rhode Island's business climate. In keeping with the Lieutenant Governor's emphasis on government transparency and accessibility, Julianna had the opportunity to assist the Office's communications staff in developing the Lieutenant Governor's social media presence and publicizing sponsored proposals and events.

CONOR MCCADDEN is a junior at Boston College, originally from the town of Calais in northeastern Maine. Over the summer, Conor held an internship in the office of State Representative Randy Hunt of the 5th Barnstable District of Cape Cod. In this position, he had two areas to focus his attention: constituent services and research. The constituent services aspect of his work focused on receiving and responding to letters, taking phone calls, and meeting and greeting constituents. The work Conor does on the research side is more meaningful to him, as he feels like he is making a positive impact on the communities of Cape Cod.

In the future, Conor hopes to work as a Foreign Service Officer for the U.S. Department of State. Until then, he is interested in graduate school programs for International Relations and internships in Washington, D.C. related to foreign policy. Simply, he wishes to do work to ensure that the United States never stops communicating with friend and foe alike.

OLIVIA MCCAFFREY is majoring in International Studies with a concentration in Political Science and a minor in French. Originally from Wakefield, Massachusetts, she is a member of the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences Honors Program and Pi Delta Phi, the National French Honor Society. She is interested in research and analysis on the topics of international politics and government. She completed an Advanced Study Grant to examine the prevalence of Independent voters in Massachusetts, and her scholarly work from this and other research endeavors has been featured in *Elements*, the Undergraduate Research Journal of Boston College and *Kaleidoscope*, the International Studies Journal of Boston College. Her interest in both American government and international diplomacy stems from her academic work and her three summers interning at the Massachusetts State House. Additionally, Olivia has

worked as an Undergraduate Research Fellow in the Political Science Department for Professor Jennifer Erickson, and completed externships with the Greater Boston Citizenship Initiative (now Project Citizenship) and the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination. Olivia spent the summer semester of 2015 studying Modernism and practicing her French language skills in Paris.

Over the summer, Olivia returned to the Massachusetts State House, to work within the Office of Governor Charlie Baker as an intern for the Office of Access and Opportunity. The Office of Access and Opportunity (OAO) is an executive office within the Governor's Administration that works to increase diversity and inclusion within the Commonwealth. As an intern for the OAO, Olivia leveraged her research skills to examine state-level diversity within Massachusetts, with a focus on business contracts between the State of Massachusetts and small businesses run by women, minorities, and veterans.

In the future, Olivia plans to pursue a career in governmental and international research, as well as a Master's Degree in a related field.

LIDYA MESGNA is a senior at Boston College majoring in International Studies (Political Science track) with a minor in Economics. A native of Silver Spring, Maryland, Lidya graduated from Montgomery Blair High School's Math, Science, and Computer Science Magnet Program. There, she developed her interests in public policy, social justice, and advocacy through her involvement with Student Government, Maryland Youth and Government, and Spanish Honor Society as well as through her research internship studying Washington D.C.'s congressional voting rights at the George Washington University Institute of Public Policy.

At BC, Lidya has been involved in EagleMUNC, BC Bigs, the Learning to Learn Dominican Republic Service and Immersion Trip, and the Undergraduate Government of Boston College. During her sophomore year, she interned at Project Hope, a non-profit in Boston that works to move families past homelessness and poverty by providing low-income women with children access to vital services. She spent her junior year studying abroad in London, taking special interest in immigrant and refugee issues. She serves as Director of Policy for the AHANA Leadership Council.

Lidya interned with the Office of Representative Chris Van Hollen. She worked from the district office in Rockville, M.D. handling constituent casework and community outreach. Additionally, she was responsible for drafting correspondence, meeting with constituents, and attending events in the community, acting as a liaison between the Congressman and the community.

Following her graduation from BC, Lidya plans to work for a non-profit or policy think tank for a few years before getting her graduate or law degree. She eventually plans to pursue a career in international policy, with a focus on immigration, refugee policy and economic development.

EMILY MURPHY is a senior in the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences at Boston College, majoring in Political Science and Islamic Civilizations and Societies, and is in the Honors programs for both fields. She is from Burlington, Vermont, but spent the summer conducting Counterterrorism research with the renowned Institute for the Study of War in Washington, D.C. Emily's interest in counter-terrorism stems from her experiences in other countries, particularly Kuwait and France, where problems of identity and governmental policies regarding Counterterrorism fascinated her and propelled her to look for solutions to the dilemma. She spent a month in Kuwait last summer studying the politics of oil in the Gulf states, and spent this past semester (Spring 2016) studying near Marseille, France. Her studies

in France focused on problems of Muslim integration into French politics and the greater European identity.

Emily has also worked as an Undergraduate Research Fellow for Professor Jonathan Laurence, of the Political Science department at Boston College. Her work with Professor Laurence inspired her to look into and evaluate the effectiveness of Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) and de-radicalization policies in the Western world for her undergraduate thesis.

In the future, Emily plans to pursue at least a Master's degree in Islamic Studies or Security Studies, and she will use the knowledge gained from her education to work in policy formation and advisement in order to best guide our society forward in its ability to deal with the conflict between countering extremism and terrorism, and adhering to problems of human rights and democratic freedoms.

MATTHEW PHELPS is a senior at Boston College, majoring in Sociology and minoring in Theology. He is from Napa Valley, California, a region renowned for premier food and wine (and, as a result, inherent luxury and excess). There, Matt developed an increasing awareness of inequality growing up, particularly in regards to class and race. Now, as a young adult, he attributes his sociology major and the origin of his ever-growing sociological imagination to his upbringing and place of birth.

He enjoys learning about cultural constructions and expectations surrounding race, class, gender, and sexuality, and the discrimination that occurs as a result. Matt had the opportunity to take part in international immersion opportunities that have brought his social justice perspective outside of the classroom, including a trip with the Arrupe program to Morelos, Mexico and a semester abroad in Manila, Philippines with the Casa program. He will travel with a BC program to Israel where he will have the opportunity to look deeper into the religious and political tensions at play in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Matt enjoys constantly finding new ways to challenge his worldview and biases.

Over the summer, Matt worked at Next Mile Project in Boston. Next Mile is an incubator and collaborative working space for young non-profit start-ups. Matt was selected by Next Mile to work closely alongside one of their member organizations, Step Up International, which aims to provide young people in Botswana, Africa with opportunities to lead socially and economically productive lives. Matt assisted with communications, marketing, and project design. Aside from his work with Step Up, Matt worked with the greater intern cohort at Next Mile Project to collaborate on projects. The intern team has a diverse skillset, including focuses in graphic design and film, and Next Mile is encouraging of interns coordinating in their own collaborative ventures. Matt is interested in how creativity can be a driving force in promoting social entrepreneurship. In this work environment, he was able to expand his own skillset and gain further insight into future career paths.

ALEX PILLA is a junior from Randolph, New Jersey. She is in the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences, pursuing a double major in Political Science and International Studies, with a concentration in Economics. Alex has made Boston College her new home by diving into community through many campus activities. As a current voting member and secretary of the Student Organization Funding Committee, she oversees the funding process for all 200 student organizations on campus. As an SOFC member, she works with club treasurers to ease the budgeting process and deliberates with the other committee members to ensure a thoughtful allocation of funding to student activities that enrich campus life. Additionally, Alex is a dedicated member of the EagleMUNC team, working as a co-chair this past year and as the deputy of finance for the upcoming academic year. Members of EagleMUNC plan and host a 40-hour Model United Nations simulation conference in Boston each year for high school students. This past spring, Alex worked as a Blue Lab Associate at Liberty Square Group in Boston where she contrib-

uted to the revolutionary campaign incubator. As a part of the Blue Lab Team, Alex provided campaign support and advice to local political candidates.

At Boston College, Alex is also involved with several service-oriented organizations. She volunteered as a tutor at Catholic Charities Teen Center at St. Peter's through Boston College's PULSE program. She also participated in the Appalachia Volunteers program and spent a week in Goose Creek, South Carolina working with Habitat for Humanity and learning about social injustice in the Appalachia region. Through both the PULSE program and Appalachia trip, Alex learned the importance of being an advocate for the voiceless and marginalized people in the community. With this inspiration in mind, she sought out the McCain Institute's summer internship program.

Alex was the Humanitarian Action Intern at the McCain Institute for International Leadership in Washington, D.C. Senator John McCain and his wife Cindy McCain founded the Institute in 2012 as a bipartisan do-tank committed to character-driven global leadership, security, economic opportunity, and human dignity. Alex's work focused on finding solutions to the problem of human trafficking and effecting change both in domestic and foreign policy. In addition, Alex conducted research and analysis regarding the scale and scope of human trafficking and modern day slavery. The Humanitarian Action Internship and Clough Center Fellowship are Alex's exciting first steps toward a career motivated by social justice.

JORDAN ALEXANDER PINO is a graduate of Lake Highland Preparatory School and a current senior in the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences at Boston College. He is pursuing a double-major in both Political Science and Philosophy, and he is a member of the Departmental Honors Program of the former. Jordan was also a Dean's Sophomore Scholar and a 2015 Civic Internship Grant recipient.

On campus, Jordan has served as a Resident Assistant in Fenwick Hall, and he has worked as a Research Assistant at the Center on Wealth and Philanthropy, until its closing in the spring of 2015. Since his first year, he has helped to resolve the cases of students as a member of the Student Conduct Board, where he now serves as Chairman. Jordan also contributes as a guest columnist to his hometown newspaper, the Orlando Sentinel, and his work has been featured in the U.K.'s Front Bench Magazine and BC's Bellarmine Pre-Law Review. Jordan has been involved with the Clough Center's Junior Fellows program since his sophomore year.

Recently, Jordan is returning from the United Kingdom, where he spent his junior year on an Overseas Exchange program studying PPE (philosophy, politics, and economics) at the University of Durham. Over the preceding summer, he completed a Research Internship in Poverty Studies at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (AEI) in Washington, D.C. At AEI, Jordan studied the causes of American poverty, and he explored policies that aim to improve the welfare and work of low-income Americans. This past summer, Jordan brought these interests with him to Capitol Hill, where he completed a Legislative Internship in the office of U.S. Senator Bill Nelson (D-FL) with the assistance of a 2016 Civic Internship Grant.

In the future, Jordan intends on working at the junction of law and politics. He plans on pursuing a J.D. that leads him to a public service career in Florida and Washington, D.C. He is also considering the completion of a master's in public policy in combination with a law degree.

NANA YAA POBEE is a rising sophomore at Boston College, born in Toronto, Canada and currently living in Alpharetta, GA. Prior to attending Boston College, she was a student at Cambridge High School in Alpharetta where she participated in student government, was Founder/President of a Habitat for

Humanity chapter and also was a graduate of the Emerging Leader's Program organized by the Greater Fulton Chamber of Commerce .

At Boston College, she is a Political Science major and plans to attend law school in hopes of becoming a Human and Civil Rights attorney. She is also the Secretary of the African Students' Organization, an Eagle Eye's buddy at the Campus School, and a recipient of the McGillycuddy-Logue scholarship to study in Spain this Fall. While studying in Spain, she hopes to join a volunteer and service club at the school. Over the summer, she was part of a non-profit empowerment internship program as an Economic Empowerment intern at the International Rescue Committee in Atlanta, GA. The International Rescue Committee responds to the world's worst humanitarian crises, helping to restore health, safety, education, economic well-being, and power to people devastated by conflict and disaster. At work in over 40 countries and 22 U.S. cities to restore safety, dignity and hope, the IRC leads the way from harm to home. As an Economic Empowerment Intern, Nanayaa sought appropriate training for refugees to further their development. This training included working with clients to create resumes, assist clients in filling out job applications, research potential employers and job possibilities for clients, prepare clients for job interview to help clients generate critical income for health and education needs for their families.

Nana's internship at the International Rescue Committee further nurtured her passion for social justice and public service. This opportunity enabled her to develop practical knowledge and experience in the field of humanitarian efforts which she hopes to leverage for her future career objectives.

SAMANTHA SPELLMAN was born and raised in the small coastal community of Duxbury, Massachusetts. She attended Duxbury High School where she was heavily involved in sports, volunteering, and music. She moved on to Wake Forest University where she continued her involvement in intermural sports and volunteering through the Alpha Phi Omega service fraternity. She transferred to Boston College following her sophomore year, majoring in Political Science and Sociology. In her relatively short time at Boston College, she has become heavily involved in the Bellarmine Law Society and has also become a member of the AHANA Pre-Law Student Association. Academically, Samantha has dedicated herself to learning and engaging at the highest level. Both of her semesters at Boston College she has received First Honors. She has thus been nominated for Dean Scholar recognition and won the Lynda Lytle Holmstrom Sociological Paper Award. Samantha has also found meaningful volunteering through the Cradles to Crayons organization, which allows her to help children in need gain access to suitable necessities such as clothes and school supplies. She is also involved in service with the on campus organizations Circle K and Appalachia Volunteers. As a transfer student, a transfer ambassador, and the Vice President of the Transfer Ambassador Program she works hard to make sure that all new transfer students have access to the information and contacts that they need in order to gain their greatest happiness at Boston College. After graduation, Samantha hopes to fulfill her dream of attending Law School.

Samantha's summer internship was with the Plymouth County District Attorney's Office. The functions of this office include: enforcing the law, highlighting public safety, and protecting the rights of all to ensure that justice is done on behalf of the Plymouth County community. This district also strives to expand the traditional role of District Attorney's offices everywhere to include extensive outreach and preventative programs in collaboration with local residents and service providers. As an intern, Samantha was assigned to assist specific Assistant District Attorneys in a prosecution unit within the office. This internship provided opportunities to explore all inner workings of the criminal justice system. She observed and helped prepare for court proceedings. Samantha was responsible for interacting and coordinating between all levels of staff.

SYDNEY SULLIVAN is a rising junior at Boston College, studying Political Science and Economics. She is from Branford, Connecticut. At BC, she has participated in a variety of activities including Best Buddies, BC Bigs, and Appalachia Volunteers. She is also Vice President of the Golden Key National Honour Society and a member of the Finance Team of the Public Policy Council. Last year, she was named a Political Science Distinguished Sophomore and a Sophomore Scholar. She is a work-study student for Media Technology Services and last semester she also served as a note-taker for Learning Resources for Student Athletes and participated in an internship at the Edward M. Kennedy Institute in Boston. Next spring, she will be studying at Bocconi University in Milan. In her free time she loves running and working out and plans to complete her second half-marathon this summer.

During the summer, Sydney worked at the Connecticut Office of the Attorney General. The OAG represents and advocates for the interests of the state of Connecticut and for its citizens. Sydney was placed in the Collections and Child-Support Department. The Collections attorneys deal mainly with bankruptcies, foreclosures, and hospital collections. She was involved in foreclosure cases in which the OAG is the defendant where she conducted an initial review of the complaint to determine if there is equity in the matter. Then, if the decision is made to open a case, the file must be entered into the database and an appearance must be e-filed. Sydney helped to prepare pleadings and motions from templates as well as e-filing various documents.

Additionally, the department handles Child Support cases throughout the state of Connecticut. The child support attorneys are in court most days of the week so, as an intern, Sydney had the opportunity to observe and attend court and gain insight into contested family case issues involving paternity and child support, support modifications, custody, dissolutions, and termination of parental rights.

After finishing at BC, Sydney plans to attend law school and become a litigation attorney or an attorney for the government. She hopes to make a positive impact on the lives of others through her career and her service to her community and her country. She is also interested in the intersection between economics and politics and specifically economic development in developing countries.

DANIEL YANG is studying Finance and Business Analytics in the Carroll School of Management. He was born and raised in Northbrook, IL which is a northern suburb of Chicago. His childhood hobbies included sports such as baseball and basketball, as well as outdoors activities like camping or hiking, and road tripping with his family. Since moving to Boston, his hobbies have slightly changed. He still enjoys all those activities but his passion for learning has grown. He thoroughly enjoys history, sociology, and philosophy. His worldview has broadened since coming to BC and he plans to continue education abroad in Vienna, Austria. Daniel sees this summer as an opportunity to grow because he'll be in a completely new environment exploring a fascinating area of business. The SEC is an extremely important government agency because it implements and enforces policy to protect consumers in financial markets. He is excited to come into this organization and make an immediate impact where he can. Daniel wants to use this internship as a stepping stone into the business world, where he plans to bring a unique worldview to whichever organization he dedicates myself to. His future career plans don't include a particular job function or company, but he does plan on leading an organization that shares the same mission as his own. He wants to advocate for others and bring positive change to overlooked communities. He hopes to lead an organization that can do these things, and believes the specifics will reveal themselves with time. The job function Daniel will be performing includes both analytical and legal work. Through the Division of Enforcement, he'll help bring litigation claims to companies and individuals violating SEC legislation. He will likely analyze financial statements and market trends, and also work closely with lawyers within the SEC.

Clough Graduate Fellows

The Clough Center welcomes Boston College graduate students conducting research on any aspect of constitutional democracy to participate in its Graduate Fellows Program. The Center appoints Fellows from among graduate students in the social sciences (Economics, Political Science, Sociology) and the humanities (English, History, Philosophy, Theology), as well as the other professional schools.

The program fosters an interdisciplinary dialogue among graduate students studying the issues of constitutional democracy, broadly understood, in the United States and the world. In addition to its other objectives, the program offers a forum for Fellows from an array of disciplines to present research and receive critical feedback from other graduate students.

The 2016-2017 Graduate Fellows are:

MARTÍN BERNALES ODINO, *Philosophy, Ph.D. Candidate*

Martín Bernales Odino is a Chilean doctoral student in philosophy at Boston College. He has a law degree,a masters degree in philosophy from the University of Chile, and a D.E.A. in criminal law from the University Pablo de Olavide, Seville, Spain. He is currently working on a project entitled "A Genealogy of Poverty: a Latin American history." The analytical angle of this project is based on the still largely unexplored notion of "problematization," as coined by the French philosopher Michel Foucault. The aim of problematization is the practice of a critique able to detect the places where new practices of freedom might be born. It does so by unveiling the complex and contingent conditions for the emergence and stability of practices in which appear forms of truth, power relations, and types of subjectivization.

This year, Bernales-Odino will present, in the Clough Center's workshop, an initial account of the Latin American problematization of poverty during the 20th century — a moment when a dramatic shift took place. At the turn of the century, it was clear that the Enlightenment reciprocity between the poor and the rich had broken down, that public charity, its fundamental political truth, had been ruled out, and that the confinement en masse of the poor was neither a legitimate nor a viable solution any longer. The "social question," the new name for an old pressing problem, began to be posed. On it were built up from scratch concepts such as social justice and philanthropy, new figures, such as the poor worker and his family,new types of political membership, such as the citizenship that was partially extended to some of the poor, and a new set of economic, sanitary and educational measures that would reach the poor and their families in their own homes, neighborhoods and factories so as to improve the material conditions of their individual lives and the general welfare of the population. The teasing out of these elements and their transformations over the course of the past century aims at identifying the contemporary problematization of poverty. Namely, the interconnected elements of power and truth that make up the contemporary art of governing the poor along with their distinctive types of subjectivities.

ANDREW BOWEN, *Political Science, Ph.D. Candidate*

Andrew S. Bowen is a Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science specializing in International Relations. He has a M.S. in Global Affairs from New York University and a B.A. from UC Davis in Political Science and International Relations. He is also an associate of the Initiative for the Study of Emerging Threats (ISET) at New York University. His research focuses on illicit and covert issues such as money laundering, transnational organized crime, covert action and proxy forces with a particular emphasis on Russia and the states of the Former Soviet Union. His writing has been featured in *Jane's Intelligence Review*, *Foreign Policy*, *The Atlantic*, *The National Interest*, *The Moscow Times* and *the Daily Beast* among others.

His research focuses on the forces of globalization and its impact on the state. As the speed and volume of interconnection continues to increase, along with the rise in prominence of various non-state actors, many see a decline in the role, or power, of the state in the face of a changing international environment. Indeed, many see authority and governance structures shifting away from state control and dominance, especially in the post-Cold War era. In particular, the speed and flexibility of illicit finance (such as money laundering), transnational organized crime, terrorist groups, failed states and the presence of modern day warlords and militias are cited as some of the more prominent examples of challenges to the modern state's ability to control and determine events. However, the relationship is often inappropriately assumed to be zero sum, where the rise of these transnational forces and actors represent a loss in the utility and power of states. Instead, states have demonstrated a remarkable ability to adapt and manipulate these very same forces for their own ends. The creation and manipulation of proxy forces and militias, the use of covert finance to support various foreign policy objectives—proxy forces—or even by authoritarian governments to sustain patronage and elite relations domestically are just a few of the examples how states remain the dominant actors over transnational networks.

Andrew's research seeks to examine these clandestine and covert relationships to better understand how and through what means states are adapting to changing international conditions and managing these transnational forces. By focusing on illicit globalization his research is able to study the interplay of issues between IPE and security studies, blending insights from both research areas that are primarily studies in isolation from one another. In addition, his dissertation seeks to examine differences in regime types between democratic and authoritarian governments in their willingness to engage with and utilize illicit actors/forces to pursue policy objectives.

TIMOTHY BRENNAN, *Political Science, Ph.D. Candidate*

Timothy Brennan is a doctoral candidate in political science. He is originally from Sydney, Australia, and received a bachelor's degree in politics and philosophy from the University of Melbourne. His areas of interest include the moral and political thought of the Enlightenment, the relation between religion and politics, contemporary political philosophy, and constitutional law. At the moment he is studying early modern political theorists' evaluations of democracy. Previously he has written on the debate sparked by Jean-Jacques Rousseau over the popularization of the arts and sciences, the constitutional thought of Thomas Jefferson, and the competing views of the emerging liberal-commercial society in the eighteenth century.

DAVID "CLINT" BURNETT, *Theology, Ph.D. Candidate*

Clint Burnett is a fourth year doctoral candidate in Biblical Studies in the Theology Department at Boston College. He received his Bachelors of Arts in Bible from Freed-Hardeman University in Henderson, TN, his Master of Divinity from Harding School of Theology in Memphis, TN, and his Master of Sacred Theology from Boston University. Clint is interested in the social context of early Christianity and interpreting our earliest sources for it, Paul's letters, through material culture—inscriptions, papyri, coinage, iconography, and archaeological remains—as well as literary sources. He has been a part of onsite archaeological excavations on a fifth century CE synagogue in Huqoq, Israel and domestic struc-

tures that date to the Roman and Byzantine city in Kourion, Cyprus. He also serves as an administrative assistant on The Maccabees Project, which is a collaborative project between Boston College and Boston University that seeks to discover the relationship between 1 and 2 Maccabees and the archaeological record from Palestine.

Clint's dissertation is entitled: "Psalm 110 in the Hymnic and Confessional Material in the *Corpus Paulinum*: Cultural and Religious Context." It is directed by Pheme Perkins and examines how the early Christian use of Psalm 110 was a cross-cultural expectation for a beneficent monarch in antiquity. During the Hellenistic and Roman periods, cities with limited democracy expressed their democratic freedom to vote certain honors to rulers who materially benefited their cities. One of the awards was the ability of rulers to share in the sacred spaces of the civic patron gods. Clint examines the possible connections between this phenomenon and the early Christian use of Psalm 110.

Clint's recent publications include: "Going Through Hell: Tartarus in Graeco-Roman Culture, Second Temple Judaism, and Philo of Alexandria," *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 4 (2013): 352-78; and "The Eschatological Prophet of Restoration: Luke's Theological Portrait of John the Baptist in Luke 3:1-6," *Neotestamentica* 47 (2013): 1-24. His most recent presentations are: "Are the Julio-Claudian Emperors 'Gods on Earth?'" at the 2015 Annual Meeting of the New England and Eastern Canada Region of SBL (April 24, 2015); "Misappropriation and Manipulation: The Abuse of Archaeological Materials in The Reconstruction of The Worship of Roman Emperors in Anatolia and Its Significance for Interpreting The Letters of Paul," at the 2015 Annual American School of Oriental Research Meeting (November 18-21, 2015); and "Paul and Imperial Cults: A Proposal for a Better Model for the Interpretation of Emperor Worship and Its Relationship to Pauline Christianity," at the 2016 Annual Meeting of the New England and Eastern Canada Region of SBL (April 10, 2016).

ROWENA CLARKE, *English, Ph.D. Candidate*

Rowena Clarke is a Ph.D. candidate in the English Department, where she specializes in twentieth-century American and British literature and film, and American Studies. She is from the United Kingdom, and received her M.A. and B.A. there at the universities of Essex and Oxford. She is writing a dissertation about the ways that popular fictional genres animated the discourses of urbanism that circulated during the decades after World War Two. Her research looks at the development of freeways, suburbia, programs of urban renewal and the redevelopment of industrial land for new forms of commerce, and then explores the discourse that surrounded these spaces in the popular press and urban planning circles. She then considers how the forms, structures and content of popular literature and film, such as detective novels or horror film, engaged with and, often, critiqued the arguments proposed by urban planners, chroniclers and architects.

Rowena is interested in the ways that social and economic inequality is manifested geographically, and the ways that postwar development monumentalized social divisions physically. Many of the texts she studies are sensitive to the spatial organization of social and economic difference and part of her task in her dissertation is to show how this capacity makes texts like urban detective fiction, or haunted house tales, ideal testing grounds for the often deterministic urban theories of the immediate post-war period. During her time at Boston College, Rowena has presented her research at conferences such as those of the American Literature Association, the Popular Culture Association and the American Comparative Literature Association. She has also taught undergraduate classes on the literature and culture of the Atomic Age, as well as Studies in Narrative, Literature Core, and Freshman Writing.

CALIESHA COMLEY, *Sociology, Ph.D. Candidate*

Caliesha Comley is a Ph.D. student in the Sociology Department at Boston College where she studies the sociology of law, global and transnational sociology, postcoloniality, race and gender based violence, and qualitative methodology.

Her most recent work explores the impact of modern-day abolitionism on United States anti-trafficking law. Social movement leaders and lawmakers agree that the history of slavery in the U.S. gives the U.S. government a particular awareness of the crime of slavery and uniquely positioned the U.S. to take the lead on international anti-trafficking efforts. In an on-going project entitled, "Meeting Minimums or Maintaining Margins: The TVPA and the 'Soft' Imperialism of the United States," Caliesha uses a postcolonial feminist legal lens to critique the Trafficking Victims Protection Act, the U.S. federal anti-trafficking statute, as a tool of power over foreign nations as it policies human trafficking in the global community, and ranks and sanctions foreign governments based on compliance to U.S. domestic standards of anti-trafficking efforts. Not only is the framing of trafficking as "modern-day slavery" problematic in that it mischaracterizing the nature of trafficking, but also in how it influences the approach and the power the U.S. exercises to maintain global power.

"Reclaiming Images of Black Motherhood: How Marissa Alexander Stood Her Ground" is a concurrent project Caliesha engages to investigate the case of Marissa Alexander, a black mother who was denied Stand Your Ground immunity by the State of Florida, and sentenced to a minimum of 20 years in prison for defending herself against her abusive husband. Alexander's case continues to be a site for contesting claims about the credibility of black female victimhood which draw directly on Alexander's status as a mother. Images of bad black motherhood, such as the "matriarch" and the "welfare queen," are situated in a long tradition of pathologizing black mothers as the cause of social and economic decline. The employment of "controlling images," the stereotypical representations of black womanhood used to naturalize systems of oppression against black women, have material and political consequences for black mothers as they come to characterize the overarching narrative the legal process writes and shapes the punitive measures with which law responds to black families. Central to this project is how Marissa Alexander and her family engage in her sentencing hearing as a form of resistance to exclusionary politics of legal protection. In this project, Caliesha theoretically maps "reclaimed images," or the re-representations of controlling images made by black women to strategically navigate a legal system structured for their disadvantage.

Caliesha received a B.A. in sociology with honors from Georgetown College in Georgetown, Kentucky in 2014. She was also a visiting student in sociology and politics at Regent's Park College, University of Oxford in 2013. This is Caliesha's first year as a Clough Graduate Fellow.

HESSAM DEHGHANI, *Philosophy, Ph.D. Candidate*

Hessam Dehghani is a fourth year Ph.D. student in the Philosophy Department at Boston College, where he was rewarded the doctoral fellowship in 2012. Received his M.A. and first Ph.D. in Linguistics from Tehran and Allameh Tabatabai University, Iran.

His First dissertation which is going to be published in 2017 in Iran was titled: "From functional Linguistics to Hermeneutics: Interpretation of a short Story." Since then, he has focused more on Hermeneutic Interpretation of texts of religious significance, particularly Islamic mystic texts in Persian, and Arabic. In 2010, he did a post-doctorate at University College Dublin, where he worked on Phenomenological Hermeneutic interpretation of Islam. Result of which built the foundation for my second Ph.D. During Hessam's studies here at Boston College, he has been working more specifically on Hermeneutic interpretation of Islam particularly on the notion of Community in Islam. The dissertation that he is currently working on is titled, "The Topology of Community in Islamic Mystic Thought", in which he is looking at the kind of being-togetherness that is suggested in the mystic texts associated with Islam.

MICHAEL FRANCZAK, *History, Ph.D. Candidate*

Michael Franczak is a Ph.D. candidate and Presidential Fellow in the Department of History, where he studies U.S. foreign relations, international history, and economic history. His main area of interest

is the intersection of U.S. foreign policy and international economics during the Cold War, especially during moments of crisis and confrontation between the developed countries of the global "North" and underdeveloped or developing countries of the global "South." He is also interested in the relationship between economic ideas and global governance, or how conceptions of economic growth, development, and justice are contested by individuals, states, and institutions.

Michael's dissertation is titled "U.S. Foreign Policy in the North-South Dialogue, 1971-1982." Using newly declassified materials from two presidential libraries, the papers of U.S. cabinet members and one ambassador, and interviews with former National Security Council officials, he presents a reinterpretation of several critical turning points for U.S. foreign policy in the 1970s from the perspective of North-South relations. Michael focuses in particular on debates within the American foreign policy establishment concerning the nature of "interdependent" forces in global political and economic relations, which connected North-South confrontations over trade, food, and debt with U.S.-European concerns about worldwide inflation, oil prices, and human rights.

Michael received his B.A. with high distinction and highest honors in History from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, in 2011. His research has been supported by the Clough Center, the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation, the Cushwa Center at the University of Notre Dame, and the Karnes Center at Purdue University. This is his fourth year with the Clough Center.

PERIN GOKCE, *Political Science, Ph.D. Candidate*

After attending college at Bilkent University in Ankara, Turkey, Perin completed her master's degree in International Relations at Boston University focusing on political economy and the Middle East. Her Master's thesis explored the rise of political Islam in Turkey, with a particular focus on economic factors and demographic changes, and analyzed the policies pursued by the Islamist Justice and Development Party with respect to political and social reform since it assumed power in November 2002. Before coming to Boston College for a PhD in Comparative Politics in the Political Science Department, she worked for the Turkish Consulate General in Boston, and part-time for a research project on social movements in the Middle East based at the Harvard Kennedy School. Her research interests include democratization and the role of religion in Middle Eastern politics, immigration, ethnic politics and identity with a regional focus on the Middle East but also including Muslims in Western Europe.

Her current research focuses on the rule of law and constitutional politics in Turkey. She is especially interested in the development of the constitutional court since its founding in 1961. Since 2010, after being enlarged by a series of constitutional amendments put forward by the ruling AKP government, the Court has issued a number of decisions openly challenging the reforms of the ruling AKP. Her dissertation asks how can one explain these rulings given that a majority of the justices on the Court have only recently been nominated by the AKP. How does this square with the argument made by scholars that the sociopolitical or ideological alliances in which high courts and judiciaries participate explain the nature of their activism? What can these legal disputes tell us about political institutions in Turkey or the nature of the political system as a whole? To what extent do courts in democratizing countries provide avenues for political activists to challenge the state and further civil rights and liberties? Perin's research speaks to the broader question of how political battles shape judicial institutions and how these institutions both serve the needs and limit the power of other political actors.

ERIC GRUBE, *History, Ph.D. Candidate*

Eric Grube is currently a second-year Ph.D. candidate at Boston College, where he studies Modern German history. He has conducted research projects about German prisoners in England during the First World War, Nazi-driven constructions of German history in the Third Reich, and the role of racial ideology in shaping the Nazi occupation of Denmark.

His current research seeks to situate war at the intersection of German monarchism and federalism. In the German Empire (1871-1918), plutocratic authoritarianism and federalism were meant to be mutually reinforcing, all because the hegemonic state of Prussia had a more restrictive franchise than the national government. But some German states had their own monarchs, and thus, there existed a system of federated monarchies. Eric's project asks: to what extent did this system of federated monarchies actually lessen the plutocratic, authoritarian components of the Empire? Did federal monarchies and their own executive structures act as brakes on imperial German authority by pitting state monarchs against the German Emperor? Perhaps loyalties in such a decentralized monarchical system were in tension with each other, restraining any centripetal power normally associated with this imperial system. Perhaps these loyalties built upon each other, further bolstering the empire's centralizing tendencies. Or, perhaps centralization and decentralization were concurrent phenomena, helping to explain both the stability and fragility of the Kaiserreich.

Eric is looking at three instances of public displays of loyalty to the state-level monarchs. These three instances occurred around the First World War, and thus, he hopes to complicate simple notions of German authoritarianism run amuck with stories of federal and monarchial variance. In the first component, he examines the centennial commemorations of the Napoleonic Wars that occurred just one year before World War I. During the Napoleonic Wars, Bavaria, Saxony, Prussia, and Württemberg had shifting alliances with and against France. Thus, public commemoration of a historically divisive issue for the purposes of national unity could have manifested itself in a myriad of loyalties to state monarchs, whose ancestors had distinct diplomatic relationships with Napoleon.

In the second component of this project, Eric examines the war mobilization in 1914. What did it mean for a Württemberg peasant to fight for God, Fatherland, and Emperor while also maintaining federated loyalties to the King of Württemberg? This study will focus attention away from local and national mobilization in order to focus on state-based loyalties. The third component of this project is about the continuities and ruptures in monarchial loyalties throughout the war itself, including the service of state-level royals in the German military, the perpetuation of federal fealties, and the ultimate collapse of federated monarchies with the continuation of federalism overall in the Weimar Republic.

MAHEEN HAIDER, *Sociology, Ph.D. Candidate*

Maheen Haider is currently a third year Ph.D. student in the Sociology department where she studies the processes of immigration and acculturation, and issues of race and ethnicity. Her dissertation focuses on integration experiences of high skilled non-white Muslim immigrants specifically Pakistani migrants in the US and looks at the contemporary changes in the immigrant experience that has increasingly become more diverse and complex around the issues of race, religion, and skill levels.

Maheen's current research looks at the role of mass media in particular films that portray racialized identities of Muslims and Arabs grounded in the War on Terror. Using both content and visual analysis of eleven high grossing Hollywood films post 9/11 on terrorism and the Middle East, she argues that these representations embody a racialization process that demonizes the religious and physical identity of Muslims and Arabs as jihadists within the realm of War on Terror. These racial portrayals perpetuate the stereotype of Muslims and Arabs as terrorists, while stripping away the diversity and complexity of the group. She demonstrates how visual illustrations of Muslims and Arabs in Hollywood films are not limited to ethnic othering and racial stereotyping, but are part of a racialization process that criminalize their identity, dehumanize their body and devalue their territorial/physical space in the light of the War on Terror. These portrayals present the Muslims and Arab identity as terrorists and encapsulate the territorial representation of the Middle East as a ruined conflicted space, thus reinforcing the Western political hegemony on the War on Terror.

Prior to coming to Boston College, she received a Master's in Social Development from the University of Sussex and holds Bachelors in Software Engineering from Pakistan. She has experience of working within the corporate and non-profit sector in Pakistan and the UK.

FELIX JIMÉNEZ BOTTA, *History, Ph.D. Candidate*

Felix Jiménez Botta is a fifth year Ph.D. candidate in the History Department. He has received a bachelor's degree in international affairs and history from Florida State University (2011), and began the PhD program at Boston College in the autumn of the same year with a diversity fellowship. Born in Cuba and raised in Germany, Felix has a particular interest in transnational histories linking the German-speaking world and Latin America. His dissertation *West Germany and the Human Rights Revolution: Human rights activism and foreign policy in the Age of Latin America's military Juntas, 1973-1989* analyzes the significant role that the campaigns against human rights violations in Chile and Argentina played in the development of a human rights consciousness in West Germany. At the same time, by investigating the particularities of West German human rights activism, it fills a historiographical gap in the field of human rights histories dominated by studies focusing on the Anglo–American situation.

The dissertation investigates the response of West German civil society, comprising the left, the churches, trade unions, and human rights organizations such as Amnesty International, to the repression that Argentinean and Chilean military governments unleashed on their populations in the 1970s-80s. Their spirited campaigns for the acceptance of political refugees from these countries, and to lobby the West German government to translate its affirmative semantic stance towards human rights into action, found numerous supporters and also detractors. Conservative Christian Democrats initially opposed their efforts, arguing that 'human rights' were best reserved for attacking the Communist Block. For the length of the two decades under review, a major struggle over the meaning of "human rights" and their proper use ensued.

The dissertation also investigates the special place of the German churches in the development of domestic West German human rights activism. The German churches had the most direct influence upon organizations such as Amnesty International. Helmut Frenz, a West German pastor in the Chilean Lutheran Church, became West German Amnesty's first general secretary after being evicted from the country in 1975. The aid agencies Brot für die Welt and Misereor worked with the World Council of Churches and numerous other human rights organizations in Chile and Argentina in the finance of projects to maintain the civil societies in these countries alive, in spite of heavy military repression. At the same time, the dissertation investigates how grass roots human rights activism influenced the policies of three West German governments (Brandt, Schmidt, and Kohl), each wedded, in their own particular ways, to notions of Realpolitik and political pragmatism that disregarded human rights as a troublesome ideology. All administrations worried about the influx of migrants and possibly even terrorists, passing as victims of human rights violations, and sought to prevent their entry. Facing economic crisis at home, all governments encouraged trade with both countries, including the sale of weapons. With the 1983 entry of the Green Party into Parliament, however, the issue of human rights, particularly the ever hasher rule of Augusto Pinochet in Chile, became a matter of continuous debate. Consequently, as the 1980s matured human rights slowly but surely became part of the West German government's *raison d'état*.

ISAK LADEGAARD, *Sociology, Ph.D. Candidate*

Isak Ladegaard is a Ph.D. student in the sociology department at Boston College, where he also received his Master's Degree. He is a member of Juliet Schor's Connected Consumption and Connected Economy research project, which is supported by the MacArthur foundation.

His doctoral research explores how information technology is transforming economic markets for illicit products and services. In particular, he is writing about the phenomenon of digital drug trade, where customers and vendors connect in the internet's backspace, the "deep web."

One part of the project examines the more-than-instrumental motives of market actors. Some use their technological aptitudes to transgress laws they find unjust, to the applause of their "community", in which they feel at "home", to use the words of one interviewee. In a time when academic evidence of the harm-reducing inefficiency of crackdowns is consolidating and public opinion tilts towards drug policy reform, these market actors add words, transactions and lines of computer code to the same broader narrative. In a period characterized by economic and ontological insecurity, these men and women embrace novel ways of making money and meaning.

A second part of his research project is about the consequences of law enforcement crackdowns on the markets. He asks the following questions: what happens after a market is shut down? Where do customers and vendors go, and how do they know where to go? In what ways are the markets and their organizational forms affected? Are there any unintended consequences?

His research employs both qualitative and quantitative methods. He has conducted interviews, and mined data from both markets and discussion forums to estimate market outcomes and important trading patterns.

ZHUOYAO "PETER" LI, *Philosophy, Ph.D. Candidate*

Zhuoyao Li is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Philosophy, where he studies social and political philosophy, ethics, philosophy of law, and philosophy of economics. His main interests are the contemporary debates between political liberalism and liberal perfectionism, the implications of political liberalism in non-liberal societies, as well as global justice theories. His dissertation focuses on bridging these issues together to present a more coherent understanding of political liberalism, and its limits in non-liberal societies with an emphasis on Asian countries. He is currently working on a theory of global justice that tries to overcome the dichotomy between statist and globalist perspectives by presenting and working with a multi-layered international moral reality.

In addition to working on his academic dissertation, Zhuoyao Li serves as the managing editor of Philosophy & Social Criticism and the editorial assistant of the Journal of American Philosophical Association. He also taught Philosophy of the Person, a year-long introductory philosophy course for undergraduate students, for two years at Boston College. He was awarded a Donald J. White Teaching Excellence Award. He also participated in numerous conferences. With the generous help of the Clough Center, he was able to present a paper at the 2nd International Conference on Economic Philosophy in Strasbourg, France. His most recent publication, "The Public Conception of Morality in John Rawls' Political Liberalism," appears in *Ethics & Global Politics*, a peer-reviewed journal.

MEGAN MCCABE, *Theology, Ph.D. Candidate*

Megan K. McCabe is a Flatley Fellow of Theological Ethics. She has a B.A. from Fordham University in theology and an M.T.S. from the University of Notre Dame in moral theology. Working in the area of theological ethics, her research includes work in Catholic moral theology, family ethics, sexual ethics, and social ethics. She has presented her work at the Society of Christian Ethics, the Catholic Theological Society of America, and the College Theology Society.

Her dissertation is entitled, "Sex, Power, and Violence on the College Campus: Rape Culture and Complicity in Evil." It examines the problem of campus sexual violence, arguing that policy initiatives alone are inadequate for addressing the problem of sexual assault plaguing college campuses in the United States.

Twenty to twenty-five percent of college women identify at least one experience of attempted or completed rape. Only about half of the women who are victimized by completed rape name their experiences as

such and a mere twelve percent of these rapes are reported to campus or legal authorities. This problem has received increased attention from journalists, activists, and politicians who seek to make campuses safer for students, especially women.

Campus policies to address sexual violence are shaped by two key pieces of federal legislation: the Clery Act and Title IX. These efforts prove inadequate without careful analysis of the broader cultural context of the hetero-relations of campus sexuality. By paying attention the ways in which young women narrate and identify their experiences, it becomes evident that there are limits to an approach to sexual violence and power that too closely aligns what is morally permissible sexual activity with the criteria that demarcate what is lawful or unlawful. Sexual encounters that does not meet the criteria of rape and assault, are not necessarily good, moral, or just. There is a broader sexual culture found on college campuses shaped and infused with violence and power that veils and normalizes the explicitly violent manifestations of sexual assault. While policy and legal approaches are critical for addressing "clear cut" instances of rape and assault, they are unable to deal with the fact that the on the ground reality is blurred and messy, with no clear line between moral, pleasurable, or even fully consensual sex from that which is violent and abusive. Recognition of this blurriness does not excuse the actions of rapists or trivialize rape as merely a "mistake." Rather, violence and abuse have come to be normalized as a typical part of hetero-relationality. This dissertation seeks to address these inadequacies by proposing a moral framework that examines and seeks to resist complicity in the social structures that undergird sexual violence.

It offers two strategies to work to transform culture in addition to upholding clear standards of consent. First, "interruption" exposes the violent reality of rape culture, including norms of sexuality that appear common sense. Second, individuals must practice solidarity in their sexual and gendered lives, which are not neutral, but can be complicit in or resist violently constituted sexual norms.

KATHLEEN MROZ, *Theology, Ph.D. Candidate*

Kate Mroz is a PhD candidate in Systematic Theology with a minor in Comparative Theology at Boston College, where she was awarded the Presidential Fellowship. She received her Master of Theological Studies from Harvard Divinity School in 2013, and her BA in theology and political science from Fordham University in 2011. Her work has been published in the Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, and the Journal of Comparative Theology. She also regularly blogs for God In All Things. Kate has presented at numerous conferences, including the Edward Schillbeeeckx Centenary Conference at Radboud Univeristy in the Netherlands, the American Council for the Study of Islamic Societies Conference at Villanova University and the Engaging Particularities Conference here at Boston College. She also serves on the executive board of the American Council for the Study of Islamic Societies.

Kate's main research interests include theological anthropology, feminist theology, soteriology (study of the meaning of salvation), and Muslim-Christian dialogue. In particular, her research has focused on the need for dialogue between Muslim and Catholic women, as patriarchy is manifest in both traditions, albeit in different forms. The false notion that Muslim women need to be saved by Western Christianity does not allow for recognition of the exclusion and oppression that occurs in churches and in Western society. True liberation, in a world where Islam and Christianity are often portrayed as being inherently opposed to one another, requires appreciation of and learning from the wisdom of both traditions. Currently, Kate is working on her doctoral dissertation, "No Salvation Apart from Religious Others: Edward Schillebeeckx's Soteriology as a Resource for Understanding Christian Identity and Discipleship in a Religiously Pluralist World."

Kate argues that the Flemish Dominican theologian Edward Schillebeeckx's (1914-2009) understanding of salvation provides a resource for understanding how one can maintain one's unique Catholic identity, while also realizing not only the benefit, but the necessity of working with and learning from other

religious traditions. This must be done without reducing all religions to a least common denominator, or striving to remove all doctrinal differences and disagreements between religious traditions.

SCOTT REZNICK, *English, Ph.D. Candidate*
Scott Reznick is a doctoral candidate in English. He holds a B.A. in mathematics from Dickinson College and an M.A. in English from Trinity College. At Boston College, he specializes in American literature of the long nineteenth century. His research interests include American romanticism, transcendentalism, literary realism, the literature of slavery and the U.S. Civil War, political oratory, and political and moral philosophy.

Scott's dissertation examines the way in which literary narrative across the nineteenth century registered the ongoing contestations about the nature of U.S. democracy. By drawing out the important connections between political speeches and writings (such as the Federalist, the Webster-Hayne debates, and the Lincoln-Douglas debates) and the narrative works of Charles Brockden Brown, Robert Montgomery Bird, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Frederick Douglass, and Nathaniel Hawthorne, Scott aims both to open up new conceptions of the "politics" of American literature and to demonstrate the way in which literature can enable a deeper understanding of American politics.

Central to this effort is a more deliberate engagement with political liberalism, which has long been either attacked or dismissed by literary scholars. Rather than viewing political liberalism as the rigid adherence to moral neutrality, Scott aims to recapture the moral commitments that are inherent to the liberal tradition and the way in which those commitments are often at odds either with each other or with competing visions of moral life. Literature, by registering the myriad ways in which abstract ideas influence and inform the daily lives of individuals and by representing the struggles that are an inherent part of any life, offers a lens through which we can witness and understand the moral and political struggles that are always operative in a liberal democracy.

HAYYIM "KEVIN" ROTHMAN, *Philosophy, Ph.D. Candidate*
Hayyim Rothman is a doctoral candidate in philosophy at Boston College. He holds a masters of science in education from Florida International University, a masters of arts in Jewish philosophy from Yeshiva University, and holds rabbinic ordination from Tomchei Temimim, Lubavitch. Hayyim is presently working to complete a dissertation on Spinoza's political philosophy. In it, he aims to demonstrate that, for Spinoza, there are not one, but two foundations for political organization which roughly correspond to his account of the two covenants contracted at Sinai and, likewise to the opposition between Moses and Jesus as articulated in the Theological Political Treatise. The intent of this study is to show that while Spinoza offers a contractual theory for legitimate concentration of power in the person or institution of the sovereign, he believes that the development of rational culture slowly erodes the need to do so and gives way to a more libertarian model of political organization.
In the Clough Center's workshop this year, however, Hayyim will be conducting an archeology of modern Jewish political philosophy. To be more exact, he will examine ideologies which competed for influence within the Jewish community as legitimate and substantial modes of Jewish political self-expression from the end of the 19th century through the beginning decades of the 20th. He is especially interested in considering political expression among traditionalists that challenge the hegemony of Zionist thought and the supposed apoliticism of that community.

The project will begin with a detailed examination of the life and thought of a long forgotten Orthodox Jewish writer and activist, Rabbi Jacob Meir Salkind (18751937). Many of the more important ideological trends of Salkind's day intersect in the arc of his development and it is, for this reason, that he represents a particularly interesting window not only into how things may have turned out differently, but how we might reconceive political engagement from a Jewish perspective.

GABRIELA TAVARA, *Applied Psychology, Ph.D. Candidate*

Gabriela Tavara is a community psychologist from Lima, Peru currently enrolled in the Applied Psychology Ph.D. program in the Lynch School where she is working with Dr. M. Brinton Lykes. She obtained her bachelor degree in clinical psychology and her masters in community psychology in the Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Peru. Most of her work has been focused on working with indigenous communities affected by armed conflicts in Peru and Guatemala with a particular focus work with women. She is interested in understanding how dynamics of racialized gender violence affect the lives of indigenous women and how women respond and resist to these forms of oppression. Additionally, she is completing the certificate program at the Center for Human Rights and International Justice at Boston College. In 2014, she was awarded the Kelsey A. Rennebohm Memorial Fellowship that supported travel to Zacualpa, Guatemala, where she collaborated with the BC-CHRIJ's affiliate project on Migration and Human Rights. There Gabriela worked with Mayan women affected by the out-migration of their family members, many of whom live in the greater Boston area. Her dissertation will engage participatory research methodologies to accompany indigenous women in Peru towards documenting their needs, strengths, "healing" and/or peacebuilding processes in post-conflict rural communities struggling for a more just and democratic society.

Peru's armed conflict lasted 20 years (1980-2000) and affected many including primarily Andean indigenous communities. Since the armed conflict ended several transitional justice processes have sought to address the consequences of the war, and, more recently, there has been a growing interest around the topic of historical memory. However, transitional justice processes have usually been guided by the interests of scholars, human rights activists or non-profit organizations and have not necessarily responded to the interests and priorities of those Andean communities most affected by the conflict. The needs of Andean women are even less explored given dynamics of racial gendered oppression. Therefore, Gabriela's dissertation will document the lived experiences of a small group of women from an Andean town as they engage post-conflict challenges. She is particularly interested in if and, if so, in what ways they choose to re-member the armed conflict, and how they re-thread and reconstruct their lives in the post-conflict period in ways that ensure that these processes can respond adequately to their needs. To this end Gabriela will conduct Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR) with a group of Andean women. Through this FPAR process she will engage in iterative action-reflection processes through which these women can potentially take on concrete actions towards improving their lives in a post-conflict society.

JACOB WOLF, *Political Science, Ph.D. Candidate*

Jacob Wolf is a third-year PhD student in the department of Political Science, working toward a double-major in Political Philosophy and American Politics. His primary research interest lies at the nexus of political philosophy and U.S. immigration and citizenship, although he is also interested in late modern political philosophy and its relationship to religion—specifically in French political thought and the history of the French Revolution.

His current dissertation proposal seeks to understand U.S. immigration and citizenship by looking at Alexis de Tocqueville's post-1840 letters, where he discusses U.S. immigration throughout the subsequent two decades (1840s and 1850s). As of now, no one has yet mined these letters for insights into American immigration and citizenship. Jacob's research seeks to understand how Tocqueville's peculiar commentary on immigration relates to the political philosophy he develops in his more substantive treatises, such as Democracy in America and Recollections. Tocqueville reserves his strongest words to describe and critique U.S. immigration policy, and it is Jacob's hypothesis that Tocqueville's comments have some truth today.

Upon fleshing out Tocqueville's thoughts on immigration, Jacob's research would then shift gears from a philosophical perspective to a public policy perspective, comparing Tocqueville's analysis to contemporary immigration scholars such as Robert Putnam, Samuel P. Huntington, Peter Shuck, and our own Peter Skerry. While most immigration research is done from a purely ethical or economic perspective, this research would seek to bridge political philosophy and public policy, delving into considerations of democratic character and democratic citizenship. The necessity of such an approach has become obvious as immigration has recently come to the forefront of public consciousness.

Prior to Boston College, Jacob worked as a Case Manager and Policy Research at a boutique immigration law firm in Minneapolis, MN, where he specialized in the legal framework for obtaining visas and green cards for high-skilled immigrants. While at this firm, he served as author and editor of www.immpolicy.com, a website devoted to understanding immigration law and public policy from a historical and theoretical perspective.

Jacob received his B.A. from University of Northwestern—St. Paul, where he double-majored in history and theology, minoring in political science.

Clough Graduate Workshop Schedule

FALL 2016

SEP 13
Andrew Bowen, Political Science
Intervention Two Step: Covert Action and Strategic Narrative During the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan

SEP 20
Megan McCabe, Theology
Rape Culture as Structural Sin: The Limits of Legality in Addressing Campus Sexual Violence

SEP 27
Liam Holland, Law
Footing the Bill for Natural Gas Leaks: Why the Limitless Cost Recovery of Lost and Unaccounted for Gas is Unjust and Unreasonable

OCT 4
Maheen Haider, Sociology
Racialization of the Muslim Body and Space in Hollywood

OCT 11
Hayyim Rothman, Philosophy
The Case of Jacob Meir Salkind: On the Making of a Religious-Zionist, Anarcho-Communist, Pacifist, Rabbi

OCT 18
Rowena Clarke, English
Cementing the Geography of Difference in the Noir Los Angeles, 1947–1966

OCT 25
Zhuoyao Li, Philosophy
The Discontents of Moderate Political Confucianism and Elements Toward Multivariate Confucian Democracy

NOV 1
Perin Gokce, Political Science
State Building, Party Strength and Political Elites in Iran, India and Turkey's National Revolutions

This workshop provides an opportunity for Clough Graduate Fellows to present research and receive critical feedback from their peers.

NOV 8
Felix Jimenez, History
Disunity in the Union: West German Christian Democrats' struggle over human rights in the age of South America's military regimes, 1973–1989

NOV 15
Amelia Wirts, Law/Philosophy
Discriminatory Intent and Implicit Bias: Title VII Liability for Unwritten Discrimination

NOV 22
Timothy Brennan, Political Science
The Idea of Liberal Democracy in the French Enlightenment

NOV 29
Isak Ladegaard, Sociology
Movement Between Digital Drug Markets: How Social Control Triggered Institutional Change in the 'Cryptofield

DEC 6
Gabriela Tavara, Education
Re-threading Life with Andean Women of Huancasancos, Peru

Clough Graduate Workshop Schedule

SPRING 2017

JAN 24
David Burnett, Theology
Hellenistic Kings as Temple and Throne Shares

JAN 31
Caliesha Comley, Sociology
Meeting Minimums or Maintaining Margins?: U.S. Liberal Imperialism and the War on Trafficking

FEB 7
Jacob Wolf, Political Science
Tocqueville, Immigration, and Democratic Soulsand Unreasonable

FEB 14
Kate Mroz, Theology
No Salvation Apart from Religious Others: Edward Schillebeeckx's Soteriology as a Resource for Understanding Christian Identity and Discipleship in a Religiously Pluralist World

FEB 21
Michael Franczak, History
Human Rights and the North-South Dialogue in Latin America, 1974-80

MAR 14
Eric Grube, History
Casualties of War? Refining the Civilian-Combatant Dichotomy in World War I

MAR 21
Kelly Morgan, Law
'Countering Violent Extremism': How Pathologizing 'Radicalization' Erodes Patient Privacy Rights

MAR 28
Hessam Dehghani, Philosophy
The Gift of Community in Islam

APR 4
Katie Howard, Philosophy (Emory University)
'Right to Have Rights' 65 Years Later: Justice Beyond Humanitarianism, Politics Beyond Sovereignty

APR 11
Perin Gokce, Political Science
Understanding One-Party Secular Nationalism: Party Building in Kemalist Turkey, 1923-1950

APR 18
Martin Bernales, Philosophy
Towards a Genealogy of Latin American Poverty: La Buena Policía de los Pobres

Academic Law Fellows

With this fellowship appointment, the Clough Center recognizes Boston College Law Students of exceptional academic ability and accomplishment who are enrolled in any of the Law School's degree programs. The 2016-17 Academic Law Fellows are:

LIAM HOLLAND is a member of the Boston College Law School Class of 2017. He grew up in Massapequa, New York and earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science and Environmental Studies from Northeastern University in 2011.

Prior to attending law school, Liam served as Research Director for the Massachusetts House of Representatives Committee on Telecommunications, Utilities and Energy, under the leadership of Representative John D. Keenan. In this role, Liam worked on complex energy and infrastructure legislation, including laws that require electric distribution companies to procure new renewable energy capacity, that reform electricity rate regulation, that provide solar energy incentives, and that require gas companies to repair natural gas leaks. During his first year at BC Law, Liam also served as a member of the Massachusetts Net Metering and Solar Task Force, which was established by 2014 legislation to review the viability of the state's solar energy incentive programs and to provide the Legislature with recommendations on solar energy policy.

Liam spent the first summer of his legal studies as a summer associate in the Office of General Counsel of the United States Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC). The NRC is an independent agency whose mission is to ensure the safe use of radioactive materials for beneficial civilian purposes while protecting people and the environment.

In the summer of 2016, Liam will be working in the Antitrust Division of the United States Department of Justice, with the section on Transportation, Energy and Agriculture. The mission of the Antitrust Division is to promote economic competition through enforcing and providing guidance on antitrust laws and principles.

In his third year of law school, Liam will participate in BC Law's Attorney General Clinic. As part of this year-long program, Liam will be placed in the Administrative Law Division of the Attorney General's Office. The Administrative Law Division represents the state in legal challenges to state statutes and regulations, suits that challenge state policies and programs, and suits that challenge the decisions of state administrative agencies.

Upon completing his legal studies, Liam plans to return to public service.

JOSHUA MOORE is a rising 3L at Boston College Law School. He attended Centre College and graduated with a B.A. in Philosophy and Government in 2010. After graduating, he worked for two years as an Assistant Language Teacher on the Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme in Tokunoshima, Japan. He subsequently returned to the U.S. and worked as a Program Manager at the Japan/America Society of Kentucky. There, he promoted cross-cultural understanding and business relationships between Japan

and Kentucky. Josh speaks Japanese fluently and has worked with organizations such as Sister Cities and the Experiment in International Living to help foster relationships between Japan and the United States. Josh has a passion for public service. While in law school, he has worked at organizations ranging from the Vermont Supreme Court, the Irish International Immigrant Center, and the Bond Project at BC Law. His interests are in administrative law, jurisprudence, federalism, and international comparative law. This summer, he will be interning at the Department of Justice, Environment and Natural Resources Division, Environmental Enforcement Section.

During his final year at law school, he will be in the Attorney General's Clinic in the Administrative Law Division. After graduating, Josh will be clerking for the Honorable Judge Paul J. Kelly, Jr. on the United States Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit. He hopes to pursue a career in public and government service.

KELLY MORGAN is an incoming third year dual degree J.D./M.S.W. student with an interest in immigration, criminal justice, and human rights. She graduated from Wesleyan University in 2011 with a degree in Music and French Studies. At Wesleyan, Kelly had the opportunity to spend a semester and a summer in Rabat, Morocco, conducting interviews with sub-Saharan immigrants and researching the connections between music and Mediterranean migration politics. After graduating, she spent a year in Marseille, France, teaching English and volunteering with a migrants' rights organization. Kelly then spent another summer in Morocco organizing an intercultural music and theater workshop aimed at engaging youth of diverse nationalities in combating xenophobia.

After moving to the Boston area in 2012, Kelly worked for three years at BEST Corp. Hospitality Training Center, where she taught English and job skills and helped to prepare students for naturalization interviews with U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. She also managed a program providing workplace English classes to kitchen workers at the Boston Convention and Exhibition Center.

In 2014, Kelly began taking classes at the BC School of Social Work, where she specializes in social innovation and leadership and her concentration is in global practice. She then transitioned to BC Law in 2015, and the highlight of her 1L year was volunteering with the Post-Deportation Human Rights Project at BC's Center for Human Rights and International Justice. Kelly will spend summer 2016 interning with the Political Asylum and Immigrant Representation (PAIR) Project in Boston, and will return to BC in the fall to take a mix of social work and law courses and begin her second MSW internship with the Muslim Justice League, an organization that advocates for human and civil rights threatened under national security pretexts. In the future, Kelly hopes to provide trauma-informed services to immigrants facing deportation on account of criminal convictions.

AMELIA WIRTS is in her second year of law school at Boston College, and working on a joint degree in Philosophy and Law. After receiving her B.A. in Philosophy and Communication Studies from the University of Oregon in 2009, she began her Ph.D. in Philosophy in 2010, earning a master's degree in 2012 and defending her dissertation proposal in the spring of 2014.

As a political philosophy student, Amelia had the rare opportunity to think through substantial matters of justice unconstrained by pragmatic concerns. Through research and writing, she has explored the idea of a just society from many vantages, but she was eager to see these ideas have an impact in the world around her. This desire to understand how theories of justice, equality, and democracy impact the concrete world led her to pursue a law degree alongside her Ph.D. in political philosophy. As a second year law student, Amelia's work on civil rights issues allows her to examine social and political equality from theory to practice.

Amelia's philosophy dissertation argues that true democracy requires institutional responses to social oppression. Many political philosophers ignore the problem of oppression because they begin their inquiries into justice by imagining an ideal political community rather than examining the political communities that we already live in. Probing existing political communities reveals that the public justification of legal and political institutions is most often directed at the powerful rather than the oppressed. Her work focuses on mechanisms for bringing marginalized people into the democratic justification process and the democratic community.

Amelia's legal interests complement her philosophical ones. Anti-discrimination law, particularly in employment contexts, brings together her passion for social justice and her philosophical work on oppression. When Amelia first encountered employment discrimination law, each reminded her of what she had already discovered in her philosophical research—that work and human dignity are intimately related. Because employment provides more than income, eliminating employment discrimination is one of the central components of building a more just political community. To pursue her interest in employment discrimination, Amelia secured an externship with the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and Economic Justice during the fall of 2015. There, she conducted research for a federal appellate employment discrimination case under Title VII. Additionally, she is writing a note for the *Boston College Law Review* on Title VII disparate treatment standards and implicit bias. She will spend the summer of 2016 working in the Prosecution and Appeals Division of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, assisting the Commission Counsel and learning about the role of the state in enforcing state civil rights law.

After completing law school in 2017, Amelia will clerk for one year for Judge Harris Hartz, Judge for the United States Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Public Interest Law Scholars

Consistent with the Center's mission to support students committed to service to others, the Clough Center provides grants to Boston College first- and second-year law students for uncompensated public interest work, in the United States or abroad, during the summer. The 2016-17 Public Law Scholar grants have been awarded to:

ALYSSA FIXSEN is a rising 2L at Boston College Law School. She grew up in Randolph, Massachusetts, and graduated from Harvard College with a degree in Government. After internships in city, state, and federal political offices in Boston, she spent five years working as an analyst for the Department of Defense in Maryland. At the DoD, she gained a deep appreciation for both the powers and the limits of the Constitution. Tired of swampy Maryland summers, she returned to the Boston area to attend law school. At BC, Allie is the Vice President, External Relations for the Internet Law Society.

This summer, she will serve as a Legal Intern in the Civil Division of the United States Attorney's Office for the District of Massachusetts. The Civil Division represents the federal government in civil cases, enforcing and defending the Constitution and federal laws. She will conduct legal research and draft memos, briefs, and motions to support litigation, experiencing firsthand how legal issues can impact people's daily lives and how the government resolves issues and enforces regulations at the local level. Allie is interested in continuing her career in the federal government after law school. She believes passionately in the government's capacity and responsibility to help people, both directly and indirectly.

PATRICK GAUDET is a rising third year law student at Boston College Law School. He was born in Concord, Massachusetts, but has lived in Colorado, Ohio, and Illinois before returning to New England for law school. Patrick attended the College of Wooster in Wooster, Ohio, majoring in philosophy. He is spending his 2L summer working as a law clerk at the Library of Congress Office of the General Counsel in Washington, D.C.

Established in 1800, the Library of Congress is the United States' first cultural institution and the largest library in the world. The Office of the General Counsel (OGC) provides legal advice to the librarian and the variety of service units within the Library on legal issues from copyright matters to employment disputes to contracts and procurement problems, as well as representing the Library in administrative and federal court litigation. As a legislative agency, the Library faces legal issues substantively different from those issues faced by executive agencies, which are themselves essentially uncontemplated in constitutional law. As a summer law clerk, Patrick will assist the OGC staff with issues surrounding a wide variety of legal topics, and hopes to gain insight into the role of the Library, and agencies generally, in its function as the general vehicle of day-to-day governance.

Aside from the law, Patrick is interested in the philosophy punishment theory, particularly problems regarding proportionality and moral epistemology and their impact on justice. His senior thesis project

at the College of Wooster was a discussion and defense of a theory of punishment based on the work of Warren Quinn, wherein punishment is justified as the product of a natural right to issue and enforce self-protective threats.

Following graduation, he hopes to clerk for a federal judge before pursuing a legal career in federal government.

SONJA MARRETT is a member of the Boston College Law School Class of 2017. She graduated from Northwestern University in 2012 with a degree in Political Science and International Studies and a minor in Environmental Law and Policy. After graduation, she worked for the Sierra Club, Illinois Chapter, as a campaign organizer for a successful Sierra Club endorsed state representative campaign. In this position, she engaged with the community on relevant environmental issues. She also organized numerous community events educating the public about the state representative's environmental platform. Subsequently, she worked at a small real estate law firm in Chicago as a paralegal.

During her 1L summer, Sonja worked at the Boston chapter of the Conservation Law Foundation (CLF) as a legal intern. CLF uses a multi-lateral approach to finding solutions to New England's numerous environmental problems, utilizing the law, science, policy-making, and the market. Sonja worked on numerous clean water issues relating to ongoing litigation. She also researched, conducted studies, and wrote reports to support potential Massachusetts state legislation.

During her 2L summer, Sonja worked at the White House Office of Presidential Personnel as a legal intern, working on a variety of issues related to the Executive branch.

As a 3L at Boston College Law School, Sonja will participate in the Civil Litigation Clinic, providing legal services to the underserved. She hopes to use this experience to gain greater practical knowledge on serving as an advocate for low-income communities in the legal field. She will also serve as an Articles Editor for the *Boston College Law Review*.

Sonja hopes to use her experiences during law school to work in the cross-section between environmental law, policy, and human rights, providing access to justice for marginalized populations.

LEILA SOUHAIL is a rising 2L at Boston College Law School. She grew up in Woburn, Massachusetts, and attended the College of the Holy Cross, graduating in 2015 with honors with a B.A. in Political Science and a concentration in Peace and Conflict Studies. As an undergraduate, she interned at the Attorney General's Office in the Municipal Law Unit during the school year. In that position, Leila analyzed the constitutionality of proposed town bylaws and worked directly with town representatives to learn more about the background of the proposed bylaws and why the town felt they needed to pass such legislation. She also organized and attended various community outreach programs to inform local residents about consumer protection and cyber security programs. It is in this internship where her interest in public sector work began. During the past two summers, she interned at Mintz, Levin, Cohn, Ferris, Glovsky, and Popeo, P.C. in downtown Boston. There, she witnessed big law for the first time and worked with multiple attorneys in the corporate, litigation, and labor and employment practice areas.

This summer, Leila will be interning with the Office of the State Senate Counsel in Boston. The Office of the State Senate Counsel performs the crucial "third-reading" of legislation before the Massachusetts State Senate finalizes it. The "third-reading" includes editing for clarity and analyzing for constitutionality and potential consequences of its passage. She will work directly with the Senate Counsel and staff

members in drafting, analyzing, and editing proposed legislation and resolutions. Leila will research issues of federal and state constitutional and statutory law and assist in the legislative process through inking bill papers and reviewing parchment prior to final considerations. She will also have the unique opportunity to attend Senate debates and committee hearings in order to report findings to senior attorneys.

Leila hopes to use her experience at the Office of the State Senate Counsel, her knowledge in political science, and her desire to work in the government to narrow her career goals as she continues her legal education. She is grateful for the opportunity the Clough Center has given her in allowing her to spend the summer further developing experience in public interest and government work.

People

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